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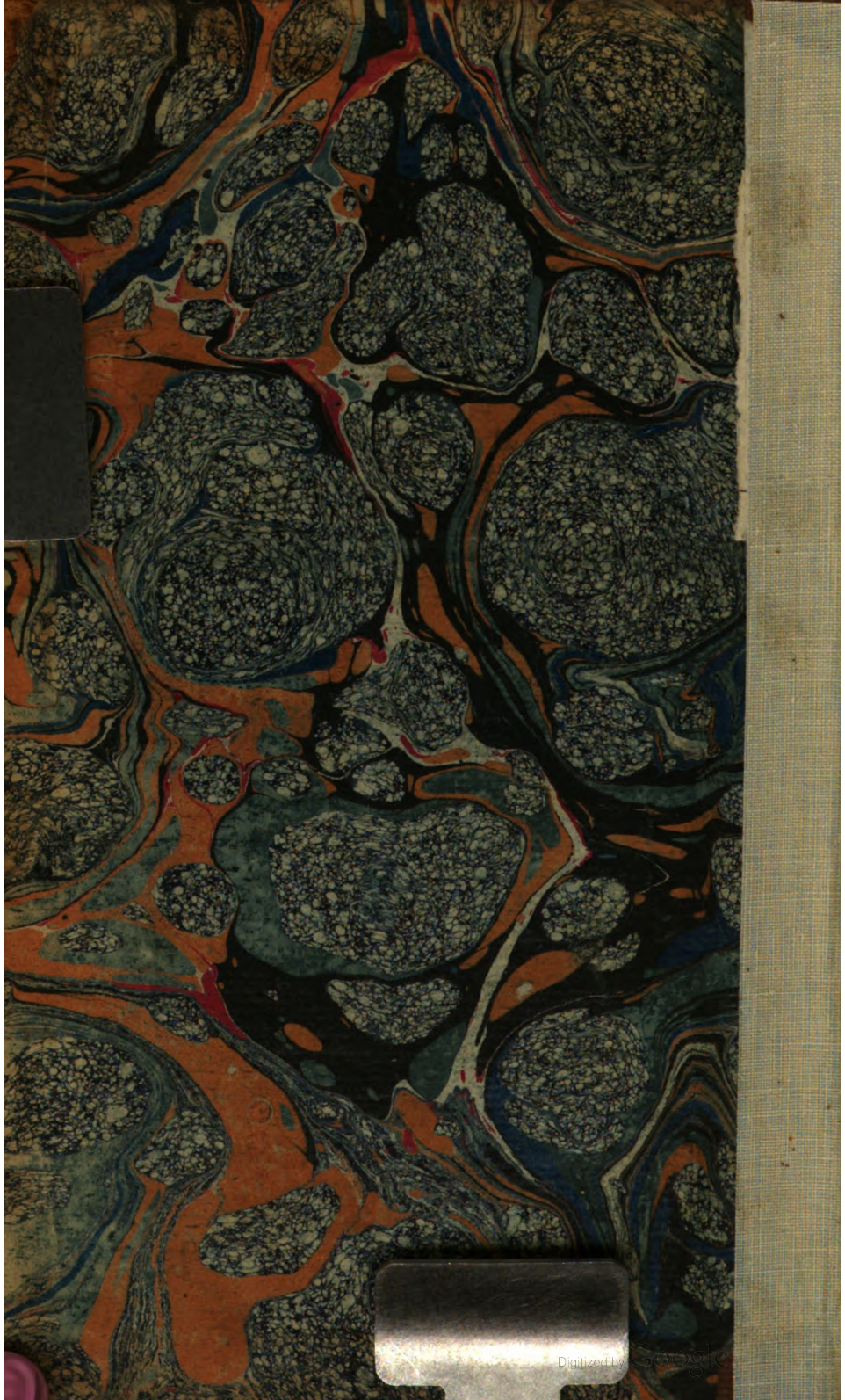
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THE

METHOD

OF

TEACHING AND STUDYING

THE

BELLES LETTRES;

OR,

AN INTRODUCTION

TO

LANGUAGES, POETRY, RHETORIC, HISTORY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICS, *&c.*

WITH

REFLECTIONS ON TASTE,

AND

INSTRUCTIONS WITH REGARD TO THE ELOQUENCE OF THE PULPIT, THE BAR, AND THE STAGE.

The whole illustrated with Passages from the most famous Poets and Orators, Ancient and Modern;

WITH CRITICAL REMARKS ON THEM.

Designed more particularly for Students in the University.

BY MR. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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BOOK

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BOOK III.

OF RHETORIC.

ARTICLE V.

OF FIGURES.

FIGURES of Rhetoric are certain turns and modes of expression, which differ a little from the common and plain way of speaking, and are used to give more grace and force to the discourse. They consist either in the words or the thoughts. I comprise in the former what the rhetoricians call tropes, though there may be some difference in them.

It is of great importance to make youth observe in reading good authors, the use which true eloquence makes of Figures; the assistance it draws from them, not only to please, but to persuade and move the affections: and that, without them, expression is weak, and falls into a kind of monotony, and is almost like a body without a soul. Quintilian gives a just idea of them by a very natural comparison. [*a*] A statue, says he, quite uniform, and of a piece from top to bottom, with the head strait upon the shoulders, the arms hanging down, and the feet joined together, would have no gracefulness, and would seem to be without motion, and lifeless. It is the different attitudes of the feet, the hands, the countenance, and head, which being varied an infinite number of ways,

[*a*] Recti corporis vel minima gratia est. Neque enim adversa sit facies, & demissa brachia, & juncti pedes, & à summis ad ima rigens opus. Flexus ille, & ut sic dixerim motus, dat actum quemdam effictis. Ideo nec ad unum modum formatæ manus, & in vultu mille species. ... Quam quidem gratiam & delectationem afferunt figuræ quæque in sensibus, quæque in verbis sunt. Quint. l. 2. c. 14.

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according to the diversity of subjects, communicate a sort of action and motion to the works of art, and give them, as it were, life and soul.

FIGURES OF WORDS.

[*b*] The Metaphor is a Figure which substitutes the figurative terms it borrows from other subjects, as it were by a kind of exchange, in the room of proper words, which are either wanting, or have not energy enough. Thus *gemma* was called the bud of the vine, there being no proper word to express it: *incensus irâ, inflammatus furore*, were used instead of *iratus, furens*, in order to paint the effect of those passions the better. We see by this, that what was at first invented thro' necessity, from the defect or want of proper words, has since contributed towards embellishing speech; much after the same manner as clothes were at first employed to cover the body, and defend it against the cold, and served afterwards to adorn it. [*c*] Every metaphor therefore must either find a void in the place it is to fill up, or, at least (in case it banishes a proper word) must have more force than the word to which it is substituted.

This is one of the Figures that gives most ornament, strength, and grandeur to discourse; and the reader may have observed, in the several passages I have cited, that the most exquisite expressions are generally metaphorical, and derive all their merit from that figure. [*d*] Indeed, it has the peculiar advantage, according to Quintilian's observation, to shine

[*b*] Tertius ille modus transferrendi verbi latè patet, quem necessitas genuit inopiâ coacta primò & angustiis, post autem delectatio jucunditasque celebravit. Nam ut vestis frigoris depellendi causa reperta primò, post adhiberi cœpta est ad ornatum etiam corporis & dignitatem: sic verbi translatio instituta est inopiæ causa, frequentata delectationis. . . Ergo hæ translationes quasi mutationes sunt, cùm, quod non habeas, aliunde sumas. Illæ paulo audaciores, quæ non inopiam indicant, sed orationi splendoris aliquid accersunt. 3. de Orat. n. 155, 156.

[*c*] Metaphora aut vacantem occupare locum debet; aut, si in alienum venit, plus valere eo quod expellit. Quint. l. 8. c. 6.

[*d*] Ita jucunda atque nitida, ut in oratione quamlibet clarâ, proprio tamen lumine eluceat. Ibid.

from,

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from its own light in the most celebrated pieces, and to distinguish itself most in them: it enriches a language in some measure, by an infinity of expressions, by substituting the figurative in the room of the simple or plain; it throws a great variety into the style; it raises and aggrandizes the most minute and common things; [e] it gives us great pleasure by the ingenious boldness with which it strikes out in quest of foreign expressions, instead of the natural ones which are at hand; it deceives the mind agreeably, by shewing it one thing and meaning another. In fine, it gives a body, if we may say so, to the most spirited things, and makes them almost the objects of hearing and sight by the sensible images it delineates to the imagination.

In order to give an idea of the force of metaphors, great care must be taken to begin always with explaining the plain and natural sense, upon which the figurative is founded, and without which the latter could not be well understood.

The surest, and likewise the easiest way to represent the beauty of a metaphor, and, in general, to explain the beautiful passages in authors with justness, is to substitute natural expressions instead of the figurative, and to divest a very bright phrase of all ornaments, by reducing it to a simple proposition. This was Cicero's method; and what better method can we follow? He explains the force and energy of a metaphorical expression in these verses of an ancient poet.

Vive, Ulysses, dum licet:
Oculis postremum lumen radiatum rape.

He performs it thus: [f] *Non dixit* cape, *non* pete; *haberet enim moram sperantis diutius esse sese*

[e] In suorum verborum maxima copia, tamen homines aliena multo magis, si sunt ratione translata, delectant. Id accidere credo, vel quòd ingenii specimen est quoddam, transilire ante pedes posita, & alia longè repetita sumere: vel quòd is, qui audit, alio ducitur cogitatione, neque tamen aberrat, quæ maxima est delectatio . . . vel quòd omnis translatio, quæ quidem sumpta ratione est, ad sensus ipsos admovetur, maximè oculorum, qui est sensus acerrimus. Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 159, 160.

[f] Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 162.

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victurum; sed rape. *Hoc verbum est ad id aptatum, quod antè dixerat, dum licet.* Horace uses the same thought.

[*f*] Dona præsentis cape lætus horæ.

An able interpreter asserts, that we must read *rape* instead of *cape.* I doubt whether he be in the right; for the man pourtrayed by Horace, is one who is free from all care and uneasiness; and by flattering himself with the hopes of a long life, enjoys peaceably the pleasures which each day offers; and the word *cape* agrees very well with such a condition; whereas in the ancient poet, Ulysses is exhorted to lay hold of the present moments, lest they should escape him, and he be deprived of them by a sudden and unexpected death: *Postremum lumen radiatum rape.* Cicero employed a word like this full as gracefully: [*g*] *Quò quisque est solertior & ingeniosior, hòc docet iracundiùs & laboriosiùs. Quod enim ipse celeriter arripuit: id cùm tardè percipi videt, discruciatur.* "By "how much the more ingenious and skilful every "man is, by so much the more painfully does he "teach others; for what he himself has quickly "caught up, he is tortured at finding others so slow "in perceiving." It is enough to observe, that he does not say, *facilè didicit,* but *celeriter arripuit:* the difference is very obvious.

When the metaphor is continued, and does not consist in one word, it is called an *Allegory. Equidem cæteras tempestates & procellas in illis duntaxat fluctibus concionum semper Miloni putavi esse subeundas.* He might have said plainly, *Equidem multa pericula in populi concionibus semper Miloni putavi esse subeunda.*

[*h*] *Remember the beginning and progress of the war, which, though but a spark in the beginning, now sets all Europe in a flame.*

Those clouds which arise from dislike or suspicion, never appeared in his serene countenance.

His virtues made him known to the public, and pro-

[*f*] Ode 8. l. 3. [*g*] Pro Quint. Rosc. n. 31. [*h*] M. Flechier.

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duced that first flower of reputation, which spreads an odour [*i*] *more agreeable than perfumes, over every other part of a glorious life.*

[*k*] When we use this Figure, we must always observe to continue the simile, and not fall abruptly from one image to another; nor, for example, conclude with a conflagration, after we began with a storm: Horace is charged with that error in this line:

Et malè tornatos incudi reddere versus.

Where he joins two ideas widely different, the turning wheel, and the anvil. But some interpreters excuse him. I know not whether Cicero may not be charged with the same fault in this passage of the second book *de Oratore.* [*l*] *Ut cum in sole ambulem, etiamsi ob aliam causam ambulem, fieri tamen naturâ ut colorer: sic, cum istos libros ad Misenum studiosiùs legerim, sentio orationem meam illorum quasi cantu colorari.* "As when I walk in the sun, though my thoughts are "otherways employed, yet is my colour changed by "its rays; so when I read with care, I find my style "coloured, as if by a charm." How can we reconcile these two words, *cantu* and *colorari?* and what relation can there be between *cantus* and a piece of writing?

The *periphrasis*, or *circumlocution.* This Figure is sometimes absolutely necessary, as when we speak of things which decency will not allow us to express in their own names; [*m*] *ad requisita naturæ.* 'Tis often used for ornament only, which is very common with poets; and sometimes to express a thing the more magnificently, which would otherwise appear very low and mean; or to cover or soften the harshness of some propositions, which would be shocking, if shewn in a naked and simple dress.

[*i*] Melius est nomen bonum, quàm unguenta pretiosa. Eccles. vii. 2.

[*k*] Id imprimis est custodiendum, ut quo ex genere cœperis translationis, hoc desinas. Multi enim cùm initium à tempestate sumpserunt, incendio aut ruinâ finiunt; quæ est inconsequentia rerum fœdissima. Quint. lib. 8. c. 6.

[*l*] Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 60.

[*m*] Sallust.

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1. *Of Ornament.*

[n] *The king, in order to give an immortal testimony of his esteem and friendship for that great general* (M. de Turenne), *gives an illustrious place to his renowned ashes, among those lords of the earth, who still preserve, in the magnificence of their tombs, an image of that of their thrones;* instead of saying simply, *gives his ashes a place in the tombs of the kings.*

[o] C'est-là ce qui l'emporte aux lieux où naît l'Aurore,
Où le Perse est brulé de l'astre qu'il adore.

Englished.

" 'Tis this transports him to far distant climes,
" Where gay Aurora rises, where the Persian
" Is scorch'd by the bright planet he adores."

2. *To heighten low and common Thoughts.*

[p] *The eagle had already winged to the mountains to save herself, whose bold and rapid flight had at first terrified our provinces;* that is, the German army. *Those brazen thunderbolts, which hell invented for the destruction of men, thundered on all sides;* that is, the cannon.

3. *To soften harsh Expressions.*

Cicero finding himself obliged in his defence of Milo, to acknowledge that his slaves had killed Clodius, does not say, *interfecerunt, jugulârunt Clodium;* but, by making use of a circumlocution, he conceals the horror of this murder under an idea which could not offend the judges, but seemed rather to engage them: [q] *Fecerunt id servi Milonis (dicam enim non derivandi criminis causâ, sed ut factum est) neque imperante, neque sciente, neque presente domino, quod suos quisque servos in tali re facere voluisset.* " Milo's servants were at length obliged to do (I only " tell the thing as it happened) without the know- " ledge, without the commands of their master, even

[n] Mascaron. [o] Despr. [p] Flech. [q] Pro. Mil. n. 29.

" in

" in his absence, what every man would wish his ser-
" vants to do in smilar circumstances."

When Vibus Virius exhorted the Senators of Capua to poison themselves, to prevent their falling alive into the hands of the Romans, he describes, by an elegant periphrasis, the misfortunes from which this draught would deliver them; and by this figure conceals from them the horror of death, instead of saying, the poison would procure them a sudden one. [r] *Satiatis vino ciboque poculum idem, quod mihi datum fuerit, circumferetur. Ea potio corpus ab cruciatu, animum à contumeliis, oculos, aures, à videndis audiendisque omnibus acerbis indignisque quæ manent victos, vindicabit.* " When we have been satisfied
" with the delights of the table, that cup of which I
" myself will drink, shall be brought to you. A
" draught like this, will free the body from torments,
" the mind from indignities, the eyes and ears from
" hearing or seeing all the miseries that fall to the
" lot of the conquered."

Though Manlius knew very well how odious the bare name of a king was to the Romans, and how likely to spirit them up to rebellion, he endeavoured nevertheless to prevail with them to give him that title. He did it very dexterously, by contenting himself with the title of protector; but insinuating, at the same time, that that of king, which he was very careful not to name, would enable him to do them greater service. [s] *Ego me patronum profiteor plebis, quod mihi cura mea & fides nomen induit. Vos, si quo insigni magis imperii honorisve nomine vestrum appellabitis ducem, eo utemini potentiore ad obtinenda ea quæ vultis.* " I confess myself the patron of the com-
" mons; this is a title that my care and fidelity have
" gained me. But you, my countrymen, if you are
" willing to honour your general with any higher ti-
" tle, use it in order to increase the prosperity of
" your affairs."

[r] Liv. lib. 26. n. 13. [s] Liv. lib. 6. n. 18.

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Some have justly taken notice of [t] certain turns, which the ancients employed to soften harsh and shocking propositions. When Themistocles saw Xerxes approaching with a formidable army, he advised the Athenians to quit their city; but he did it in the softest terms, and exhorted them to commit it to the care of the Gods. *Ut urbem apud deos deponerent: quia durum erat dicere, ut relinquerent.* Another was of opinion they should melt down the golden statues raised to *Victory*, to answer the exigencies of war. He used a turn of expression, and told them it was necessary to make use of victories. *Et qui Victorias aureas in usum belli conflari volebat, ita declinavit, victoriis utendum esse.*

Repetition is a pretty common Figure, which has different names, because there are various kinds of it. 'Tis very proper to express lively and violent passions, such as anger and grief for example, which are strongly employed on the same object, and see no other; and therefore often repeat the terms which represent it. Thus Virgil paints Orpheus's grief after the death of Eurydice.

[u] TE, dulcis conjux; TE solo in littore secum
TE veniente die, TE decedente canebat.

[x] Pliny the younger uses the same Figures in bewailing the death of Virginius, who had been his tutor, and whom he considered as his father. *Volui tibi multa alia scribere; sed totus animus in hâc unâ contemplatione defixus est. Virginium cogito, Virginium video, Virginium jam vanis imaginibus, recentibus tamen, audio, alloquor, teneo.* "I intended writing to you "upon many things else, but all my mind is employed "upon this alone. I see my Virginius; I think my "Virginius in every vain image called up by fancy; "I converse with him, I hear him, I hold him."

[y] Cicero furnishes us with a prodigious number of examples, *Bona, miserum me! (consumptis enim*

[t] Celebrata apud Græcos schemata, per quæ res asperas molliùs significant. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.

[u] Lib. 4. Georg. ver. 465.
[x] Lib. 2. Ep. 1.
[y] 2 Philip. n. 64.

lacrymis

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lacrymis tamen infixus animo hæret dolor) *bona, inquam, Cn. Pompeii acerbissimæ voci subjecta præconis.* "All the goods, (though my tears are ex-"hausted, yet my grief remains) all the goods of "Pompey were set up to be sold by a brawling auc-"tioneer." [z] *Vivis, & vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam.* "You live, but live, "not to lay down, but to confirm your audacious-"ness," [a] *Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Messanæ civis Romanus, judices. . . . Cum ille imploraret sæpius usurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux, inquam, infelici & ærumnoso, qui nunquam istam potestatem viderat, comparabatur.* "A Roman citi-"zen, O my judges, was whipped with rods in the "forum of Messana. Though he often implored, "and boasted of the name of a Roman citizen, the "cross, even the cross, was prepared for him."

This Figure is likewise vastly proper for insisting strongly on any proof, or any truth. [b] The elder Pliny would make us sensible of the folly of men, who give themselves so much trouble to secure an establishment in this world; and often take arms against one another, to extend a little the boundaries of their dominions. After representing the whole earth as a small point, and almost indivisible in comparison of the universe: 'Tis here, says he, we are endeavouring to establish and enrich ourselves; 'tis here we would govern and be sovereigns; 'tis this that agitates mankind with frequent violence: this is the object of our ambition, the subject of our disputes, the cause of so many bloody wars, even among fellow-citizens and brothers. *Hæc est materia gloriæ nostræ, hæc sedes: hic honores gerimus, hic exercemus imperia, hic opes cupimus, hic tumultuatur humanum genus: hic instauramus bella etiam civilia, mutuisque cædibus laxiorem facimus terram.* All the vivacity of this passage consists in the repetition, which seems in every member or part to exhibit this little spot of earth, for which men torment themselves so far as to fight and kill one another, in order to get some

[z] 1 Catil. n. 1. [a] 7 Verr. n. 161. [b] Lib. 2. c. 58.

little

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little portion of it; and at last, what share have they of it after death? *Quotâ terrarum parte gaudeat? vel, cum ad mensuram suæ avaritiæ propagaverit, quam tandem portionem ejus defunctus obtineat!*

[c] Rompez, rompez tout pacte avec l'impiété . . .
Daigne, daigne, mon Dieu, sur Mathan & sur elle
Répandre cet esprit d'imprudence & d'erreur,
De la chûte des rois funeste avant-coureur . . .
Dieu des Juifs, tu l'emportes! . . .
David, David triomphe. Ahab seul est détruit . . .

Englished.

" Your leagues with impious men dissolve, dissolve . . .
" Deign, deign, my God, on Mathan and on her
" To shed the spirit of imprudent error,
" Fatal forerunner of the fall of kings . . .
" God of the Jews, 'tis thou who dost prevail!
" Great David triumphs. Achab only dies. . . ."

[d] L'argent, l'argent, dit-on: sans lui tout est stérile.
La vertu sans l'argent n'est qu'un meuble inutile.
L'argent en honnête homme érige un scélérat.
L'argent seul au palais peut faire un magistrat.

" 'Tis money, money: this alone is merit.
" Without it, virtue is an useless toy.
" Money proclaims the knave a man of honour.
" Money, alone, can make a dunce a judge."

[e] Quel carnage de toutes parts!
On égorge à la fois les enfans, les vieillards;
Et la sœur, & le frère;
Et la fille, & la mère;
Le fils dans les bras de son père.

Englished.

What slaughter's all around us!
The murd'ring sword kills ancient men and children,
The sister and the brother,
The daughter and the mother;
The son too, clasp'd in his fond father's arms.

[c] Racine. [d] Despreaux. [e] Racine.

To

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To take away the repetition from all these passages, is in reality to divest them of all their beauty, to weaken all their strength, and deprive the passions of the language natural to them.

The Antithesis, and such like Figures.

Antitheses, when artfully employed, says Father Bouhours, are extremely pleasing in works of genius. They have pretty near the same effect in these, that lights and shadows have in painting, when the painter has the art of distributing them judiciously; or that the trebles or basses have in music, which an able master knows how to blend together. [*f*] *Vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia, rationem amentia...* [*g*] *Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit...* [*h*] *Christian generals must be tender and charitable, even when their hands are bloody; and inwardly adore the Creator, when they find themselves reduced to the melancholy necessity of destroying his creatures.*

There are other Figures which consist chiefly in a certain disposition and relation between words, which being disposed with art, propriety, and symmetry, as it were, in a particular order, correspond with one another, and sooth the ear and mind agreeably, by this kind of regular and studied harmony.

[*i*] Cicero did not neglect that ornament of speech, which some of the ancients, as Isocrates, were vastly fond of; and he has shewed the use we ought to make of these Figures, by employing them seldom, and with moderation; and being always careful to heighten them by the force and justness of the thoughts, without which they would have very little merit.

[*k*] *Est enim hæc, judices, non scripta, sed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex naturâ ipsâ arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus; ad quam*

[*f*] Pro Cluent. n. 15.
[*g*] Pro Mur. n. 76.
[*h*] Flechier.
[*i*] Delectatus est his etiam M. Tullius; verùm & modum adhibuit non ingratæ, nisi copiâ redundet, voluptati; & rem alioqui levem, sententiarum pondere implevit. Quint. l. 9. c. 1.
[*k*] Pro Mil. n. 10.

non

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non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus: ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim, si in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnes honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis. "For, my judges, there is "a law not written to man, but born "with him. A law which we have not learned nor "read, but seized upon, enjoyed from nature; a law "which we have not been taught, but formed to; "not instituted in, but tinctured with; namely, that "if our lives are sought by any kinds of treachery, "we have a right by every honourable means to re-"pel the injury."

[*l*] Seneca is full of these Figures: *Magnus est ille qui fictilibus sic utitur, quemadmodum argento; nec ille minor est, qui sic argento utitur, quemadmodum fictilibus. Infirmi animi est, pati non posse divitias.* "He may be called a truly great man who uses ves-"sels of earthen ware so as if they were silver; nor is "he less, who employs silver as if it were earthen "ware. It argues a weak mind not to be able to suffer "riches." [*m*] *Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras, tam abstinenter quàm alienas, tam diligenter quàm tuas, tam religiosè, quam publicas. In officio amorem consequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile est.* "You indeed administer the business of "the whole world with frugality, as if they belonged "to another; with diligence, as if they were your "own; religiously, as if they wholly belonged to the "public. You gain love in office, in which it is no "easy matter to avoid hatred."

[*n*] *A man great in adversity by his courage, and in good fortune by his modesty, in difficulties by his prudence, in danger by his valour, and in religion by his piety.*

He only changed virtues, when fortune changed her countenance; happy without pride, unhappy with dignity.

In his youth he had all the prudence of advanced age, and in an advanced age all the vigour of youth.

[*l*] Senec. Ep. 5. [*m*] De Brev. vitæ, c. 18. [*n*] Flechier.

We

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[o] *We easily image to ourselves the ardour and perseverance with which a man of genius applies himself to any study which is his chief pleasure; and a man of virtue, who makes it an essential duty.*

He possessed that innocence and simplicity of manners, which we generally preserve when we converse less with men than with books; and he had nothing of that severity or savage pride with which the commerce of books, without that of men, is too apt to inspire.

[p] *One alone is smitten, and all are delivered. God smites his innocent Son for the sake of guilty men; and pardons guilty men for the sake of his innocent Son.*

All these thoughts are very just and beautiful in themselves; but it must be owned, that the turn and manner in which they are expressed, make them much more graceful. In order to make us more sensible of this, we need only reduce them to a plain and vulgar way of speaking. This I will endeavour to display in the two beautiful passages of Cicero, where the disposition of words, of which we are speaking, appears in a peculiar manner.

When that great orator, pleading for Ligarius, had told Cæsar, that princes resemble the gods in nothing more than in doing good to men; he might have barely said, that his fortune and kind disposition procured him that glorious advantage: this is the foundation of the thought: but Cicero expresses it in a much more noble and elegant manner, by observing separately, by a kind of distribution, what he owes to fortune, and what should be ascribed to his natural inclination. The one gives him the power of doing good, the other the will; and it is in this that the greatness of his fortune, and the excellency of his good nature consist. [q] *Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus quam ut possis, nec natura tua melius quam ut velis, conservare quamplurimos.* All the words here correspond with a surprising exactness. *Fortuna, natura: majus, melius: possis, velis.* Is it possible to say more in fewer words, or with more beauty?

[o] Fontem. [p] Bossuet. [q] Pro Lig. n. 38.

The

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The elogium of Roscius the comedian is in the same taste. [s] *Etenim cum artifex ejusmodi sit* (Q. Roscius,) *ut solus dignus videatur esse qui scenam introeat; tum vir ejusmodi est, ut solus videatur dignus qui eò non accedat.* Cicero makes a noble encomium upon the same Roscius, in another place, which may likewise teach us how the same thought may be turned different ways. [t] *Qui medius fidius (audacter dico) plus fidei quam artis, plus veritatis quam disciplinæ possidet in se: quem populus Romanus meliorem virum quam histrionem esse arbitratur: qui ita dignissimus est scenâ propter artificium, ut dignissimus sit curiâ propter abstinentiam.* "Who by all that's "credible (I speak it with confidence) possesses more "faithfulness than art; more truth than discipline. "He is thought by every Roman a better man than "he is a player; and is so far above all, as to be wor- "thy of the stage for his skill, and of the senate for "his temperance." This double encomium is reduced to this, that Roscius has more of the honest man than the excellent comedian. In how many shapes is this thought represented to us? Can we imagine any thing has more delicacy than the first turn which Cicero gives it? "Roscius is so excellent an actor, that "he alone seems worthy of mounting the stage; but, "on the other hand, he is a man of so much virtue, "that he alone seems worthy of never appearing upon "it." The second encomium is as delicate as the former. The last member would perhaps have been more graceful, if a word that ends like *abstinentiam*, had been substituted instead of *artificium*. For one of the principal beauties of the Figures we are here treating of, and which consists in a studied and measured order, is, that the words should not only answer one another in sense, but likewise in sound and cadence. *Ita dignissimus est scenâ propter artis peritiam, ut dignissimus sit curiâ propter abstinentiam.* But Cicero chose to renounce that minute elegance, rather than enervate the beauty of the sense, by an ex-

[s] Pro Quint. Rosc. n. 78. [t] Pro Quint. Rosc. com. n. 17.

pression

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pression not so proper; and he gives us an opportunity of adding in this place some reflections of Quintilian, on the use that is to be made of such Figures.

[u] Since they consist wholly in certain turns, and a certain disposition of words, and that these must be employed only to express the thoughts; it would be manifestly absurd to apply ourselves entirely to those turns and to that disposition of words, and at the same time neglect the very foundation both of thoughts and of things. But how just soever we may suppose these Figures to be, they must however be used sparingly; for the more artful and studied they appear, the more evident is the affectation, and consequently the more faulty. [x] To conclude, the nature of the things we treat of must be susceptible of this kind of ornaments. For when it is proposed, for instance, to affect and melt the auditors, to terrify them by a view of the evils which threaten them, to raise a just indignation in them against vice, to employ earnest entreaties; would not an orator be ridiculous, should he attempt to effect this by regular periods, antitheses, and such like Figures, which are proper only to distinguish the passions, and to expose the vanity of an orator solely intent upon himself, and the care of displaying his wit at a time when he should have no thoughts but to draw tears from his auditors, and fill them with the sentiments of fear, anger or grief, necessary to his purpose?

Figures of Allusion.

I must not conclude this article, which relates to the Figures of words, without saying something of

[u] Sunt qui neglecto rerum pondere, & viribus sententiarum, si vel inania verba in hos modos depravârint, summos se judicent artifices, ideóque non desinunt eas nectere: quas sine sententiâ sectari tam est ridiculum, quam quærere habitum gestumque sine corpore. Quint. l. 9. c. 3.

Sed ne hæ quidem densandæ sunt nimis. Ibid.

[x] Sciendum imprimis quid quisque in orando postulet locus; quid persona, quid tempus. . . Ubi enim atrocitate, invidiâ, miseratione pugnandum est, quis ferat contrapositis, & pariter cadentibus, & consimilibus, irascentem, flentem, rogantem? cùm in his rebus cura verborum deroget affectibus fidem, & ubicumque ars ostentatur, veritas abesse videatur. Ibid.

those

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those that consist in an affected resemblance, and a kind of a play of words *Amari jucundum est, si curetur ne quid insit amari. Avium dulcedo ad avium ducit. Ex oratore arator factus.* [y] The bare name of Verres, which in Latin signifies a boar, gave rise to a great many allusions. *Hinc illi homines erant, qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore: quorum alii, ut audistis, negabant mirandum esse,* jus tam nequam esse Verrinum: *alii etiam frigidiores erant, sed quia stomachabantur, ridiculi videbantur esse, cum* sacerdotem *execrabantur, qui* Verrem tam nequam *reliquisset* (the prætor of Sicily whom Verres succeeded, was called *Sacerdos.*) *Quæ ego non commemorarem (neque enim perfacetè dicta, neque porrò hac severitate digna sunt,) nisi, &c.* [z] *Ex nomine istius quid in provinciâ facturus esset perridiculi homines augurabantur . . . ad* everrendam *provinciam venerat.* [a] *Quod unquam, judices, hujusmodi* everriculum *ullâ in provinciâ fuit?* At the same time that Cicero mentions these puns, which it is impossible to translate, he informs us how flat and puerile he found them; by which he teaches youth what judgment they are to form of them, and warns against a vicious taste, which young people are but too apt to give into, who imagine that there is some wit in this kind of Figures.

But we must not, however, condemn allusions in general, some being really ingenious, and giving a grace to a discourse; and they must appear such, when they are judicious, and founded on a solid thought, and a natural resemblance. Cicero had related the equitable and disinterested conduct of Verres in a certain affair; and adds the following reflection. [b] *Est adhuc id quod vos omnes admirari video, non Verres, sed Q. Mucius. Quid enim facere potuit elegantius ad hominum existimationem? æquius ad levandam mulieris calamitatem? vehementius ad quæstoris libidinem coercendam? Summè hæc omnia mihi videntur esse laudanda. Sed repentè è vestigio* ex ho-

[y] Verr. 3. n. 2.
[z] Verr. 4. n. 18, 19.
[a] Verr. 6. n. 53.
[b] Verr. 1. n. 57.

mine,

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mine, *tanquam aliquo Circæo poculo*, factus est Verres, *Redit ad se, ad mores suos. Nam ex illâ pecuniâ magnam partem ad se vertit : mulieri reddit quantulum visum est.* Methinks this allusion, which is founded on what fiction relates of Circe, who by certain draughts changed men into boars or swine (which Verres signifies in Latin) is happily and very naturally used in this place.

[*c*] It appeared by Cicero's examination of the journals of a certain trader in Sicily, that the last five letters of this word *Verrutius*, which were frequently mentioned in those journals, were always obliterated, and that the four first only remained, *Verr.* This was a fictitious name under which Verres concealed himself, to carry on an abominable usury. Cicero produced those journals on the trial ; [*d*] *ut omnes mortales*, says he, *istius avaritiæ non jam vestigia, sed ipsa cubilia videre possint.* [*e*] *Videtis Verrutium? videtis primas literas integras? videtis extremam partem nominis, caudam illam Verris, tanquam in luto, demersam esse in liturâ?* Can any one condemn such a play of words, especially on an occasion where the orator thought it was necessary to divert the judges, and at the same time intended to make Verres ridiculous and contemptible?

Sometimes the resemblance between words, or the bare changing a preposition, or the same word used in various significations, produces a kind of beauty not to be despised. [*f*] *Hanc reipublicæ pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse . . .* [*g*] *non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur . . .* [*h*] *Civis bonarum artium, bonarum partium.* One of the ancients said of a slave that pilfered in the house, that every thing was open to him : [*i*] *solum esse cui domi nihil sit nec obsignatum, nec occlusum :* which might likewise be said of a faithful servant in whom we repose an entire confidence.

[*c*] Verr. 4. n. 186, &c.
[*d*] Ver. 4. n. 190.
[*e*] N. 191.
[*f*] 1 Catil. n. 30.
[*g*] N. 7.
[*h*] Pro Cœl. n. 77.
[*i*] 2. de Orat. n. 248.

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Figures with regard to Thoughts.

I shall only mention some of the most remarkable among these.

The interrogation, apostrophe, and exclamation, are very common Figures; and yet may render discourse more efficacious, lively, and affecting.

[*k*] *Usque adeo ne mori miserum est?* "Is death "then so great a calamity?" With this tone of voice a man speaks, who is going to battle; whereas an old man, who is sick, and near death, would say coldly: *non est usque adeo miserum mori.*

Æneas says, that, if a certain event had been regarded, Troy would have not been taken.

[*l*] Trojaque, nunc stares: Priamique arx alta, maneres.

"Troy, thou hadst stood, and Priam's power remained."

This apostrophe makes us feel the great love a good citizen bears to his country. Change a letter, *staret maneret*, and the sentiment is gone.

Thus Cicero concludes the narrative he made of the punishment of a Roman citizen: [*m*] *O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis! O lex Porcia, legesque Semproniæ! O graviter desiderata, & aliquando reddita plebi Romanæ, tribunitia potestas! Huccine tandem omnia reciderunt, ut civis R. in provinciâ populi R. in oppido fœderatorum, ab eo qui beneficio populi R. fasces & secures haberet, deligatus in foro virgis cæderetur?* "O thou lovely "sound of liberty! O thou justice of my country! "O ye Portian and Sempronian laws! O thou tri- "bunitial power, often wished for and sometimes ob- "tained, have ye all come to this, that a Roman ci- "tizen, in a Roman province, in a confederate town, "among a people that owe their honour and their "liberty to Rome, should be beaten with rods in the

[*k*] Æn. l. 12. v. 646.
[*l*] Æn. l. 2. v. 56.
[*m*] Verr. 7. n. 161, 162.

public

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public forum?" These are the just expressions of grief and indignation.

Cicero joins and unites the greatest part of these Figures, and adds others to them, in a very lively passage. [n] *Quia enim, Tubero, tuus ille districtus in acie Pharsalicâ gladius agebat? cujus latus ille mucro petebat? qui sensus erat armorum tuorum? quæ tua mens? oculi? manus, ardor animi? quid cupiebas? quid optabas?* "What, Tubero, was thy "sword employed upon at the battle of Pharsalia? "Whose was the side it pierced? who felt the weight "of your arms? on whom was thy mind, thy hands, "thy eyes employed? What were your desires, what "your wishes?" All this is only to declare, that Tubero was present at the battle of Pharsalia, and had fought against Cæsar. But what strength does this thought receive from so many and such lively Figures, crouded one upon the other? Do not they seem to insinuate, that Tubero's sword fought every where for Cæsar? For Cicero had said immediately before, *contra ipsum Cæsarem est congressus armatus.*

"[o] O princess! whose destiny is so great and "glorious, must you be born in the dominions of "those who are the enemies of your house? O eter- "nal God, watch over her! Holy angels, draw your "invisible squadrons round her, and guard the "cradle of so great, so hapless a princess!

"[p] Ye gloomy retreats, where shame obliges "poverty to shroud herself, how often has she made "her consolation and her charity flow even to you; "she, who was so strongly affected with your wants "and afflictions, and more industrious to conceal her "beneficence, than you were to hide your misery?"

[q] O fortuné sejour! O champs aimés des cieux!
Que pour jamais foulant vos prés délicieux,
Ne puis-je ici fixer ma course vagabonde,
Et, connu de vous seul, oublier tout le monde?

[n] Pro Ligar. n. 9.
[o] Bossuet.
[p] Flechier.
[q] Despreaux.

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Englished.

" O charming spot! O fields beloved by heaven!
" Why cannot I here fix my roving steps,
" Wander for ever in your winding shades,
" And, known to you alone, forget the world?"

[r] O rives du Jourdain! O champs aimés des cieux!
Sacrés monts, fertiles valées
Par cent miracles signalées!
Du doux pays de nos ayeux
Serons nous toujours exilées?

Englished.

" O banks of Jordan! fields belov'd by heav'n!
" Sacred mountains, fruitful vallies
" By miracles immortal made!
" Must we for ever be exil'd
" From the delicious country of our fathers?"

Abner having complained, that no more miracles were seen; Joab, full of an holy indignation, answers him thus:

Et quel tems fut jamais si fertile en miracles?
Quand Dieu par plus d'effets montra-t-il son pouvoir?
Auras-tu donc toujours des yeux pour ne point voir,
Peuple ingrat? Quoi toujours les plus grandes merveilles,
Sans ébranler ton cœur, fraperont tes oreilles?

Englished.

" What age in miracles so much abounded?
" When e'er did God so bright his power display?
" O wilt thou still have eyes, and yet not see,
" Ungrateful people? still shall mighty wonders
" Strike strong thine ear, yet not affect thy heart?"

The prosopopœia is a figure that communicates action and motion to inanimate things; makes persons speak, whether present or absent, and sometimes even the dead.

[r] Racine.

It

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It is usual with the poets to give indignation and admiration to rivers, trees; sadness to beasts, &c.

[s] Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor.
Pontem indignatus Araxes.
Miraturque novas frondes, & non sua poma.
It tristis arator,
Mœrentem abjungens fraternâ morte juvencum.

[t] Sous de fougueux coursiers l'onde écume, & se plaint . . .
J'entends déja frémir les deux mers étonnées
De voir leurs flots unis au pied des Pyrenées.

Englished.

"Beneath the fiery coursers ocean foams,
"And vents his plaints . . .
"I hear, already, the two seas, amaz'd,
"Tremble for fear, to see their waves united,
"Under the Pyrenean mountains."

The elder Pliny often paints his descriptions in almost as strong colours as a poet would do. He describes wonderfully, in a very few words, the grief and shame of a peacock, which having lost its tail, sought only to hide itself. [u] *Caudâ amissâ pudibundus ac mœrens quærit latebram.* In another place he gives a sensation of joy to the earth, which anciently had seen itself cultivated by victorious generals, and broken up with a plough-share adorned with laurels: [x] *Gaudente terrâ vomere laureato, & triumphali aratore.* He says elsewhere, that the houses where the statues of heroes nobly descended were ranged in order, still triumphed, as it were, after they had changed their masters; and that the walls reproached a coward who dwelt in them, with daily entering a place made sacred by the monuments of the virtue and glory of others. [y] *Triumphabant etiam dominis mutatis ipsæ domus; & erat hæc stimulatio ingens, exprobrantibus tectis quotidie imbellem dominum*

[s] Virgil.
[t] Despreaux.
[u] Lib. 10. c. 20.
[x] Lib. 18. c. 3.
[y] Lib. 35. c. 2.

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minum intrare in alienum triumphum. This passage was translated by Father Bohours, who, being unable in French to express the ingenious brevity of the last thought, *intrare in alienum triumphum*, employed another turn, which indeed is very beautiful, but longer, and consequently not so lively.

Cicero employs the same thought, but extends it, as an orator should do: it is when he speaks of the palace of Pompey the great, which Antony had seized.

He asks the latter, if he thought he was entering his own house, when he entered this porch adorned with the spoils of the enemies, and the prows of the ships taken from them. He afterwards uses the Figure we are now speaking of, and says, he pities the very roofs and walls of that unfortunate house, which had neither seen nor heard any thing but what was wise and honourable, when Pompey dwelt under them; but was now become an obscure retreat for Antony's debaucheries: [z] *An tu illa in vestibulo rostra, & hostium spolia cùm aspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es; tamen & te, & tua, & tuos nósti. . . . Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim unquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, nisi ex optimo more & sanctissimâ disciplinâ? . . . Nunc in hujus sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro tricliniis popinæ sunt.*

This Figure, which gives life, as it were, to inanimate things, adds a prodigious grace and vivacity to orations. When Cicero was pleading for Milo, he observed, that the law of the twelve tables allowed the slaying of a robber in some cases; whence he draws this conclusion: [a] *Quis est qui, quoquo modo quis interfectus sit, puniendum putet, cum videat aliquando gladium nobis ad occidendum hominem ab ipsis porrigi legibus?* He might have said barely, *cùm videat licere nobis aliquando per leges hominem occidere.* But instead of that, he transforms the law into persons, as it were, and represents them as running to the assistance of a man attacked by robbers, and putting a sword

[z] 2. Philip. n. 68, 69. [a] Pro. Mil. n. 9.

into

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into his hand to defend himself. He again employs the same Figure some lines after: [b] *Silent enim leges inter arma, nec se expectari jubent: cum ei, qui expectare velit, ante injusta pœna luenda sit, quàm justa repetenda.* "The laws are silent in camps and "tumults, nor are they to be waited for; he that "would wait for them, will suffer an unjust punish-"ment before he can claim their just protection."

"[c] At these cries Jerusalem shed a flood of tears, "the arches of the temple shook, the river Jordan "was troubled, and all its rivulets echoed the sound "of these mournful words: What! is this powerful "man, who saved the people of Israel, dead?

"'Tis well known, that victory is naturally cruel, "insolent, and impious; but M. Turenne made her "gentle, rational, and religious.

"Ever since justice has groaned beneath the "weight of laws, and knotty formalities, and that to "ruin one another with chicane, became a trade, "kings were not able to support the fatigue of pre-"siding over them.

"Has not her beauty been always guarded by the "most scrupulous virtue?

"[d] I will not relate the too happy success of his "enterprises, nor his famous victories, which virtue "was ashamed of; nor that long series of prosperity "which has astonished the whole world.

"[e] Reason guides a man to an entire conviction "of the historical proofs of the Christian religion; "after which it delivers and abandons him to another "light, which, though not contrary, is yet entirely "different from, and infinitely superior to it."

There is another kind of prosopopœia, still more lively, and bolder than the first. 'Tis when we address ourselves to inanimate things, or make them speak; or when, instead of relating indirectly the discourses of those in question, we make them deliver

[b] N. 10.
[c] Flechier.
[d] Bossuet speaking of Cromwell.
[e] Fonten.

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these discourses; or, lastly, when we even give speech to the dead.

1. *To address inanimate Things.*

After Cicero had given a description of Clodius's death, and ascribed it to a particular providence, he says, even religion, and the altars of the gods, were affected with it; and afterwards addresses his discourse to them thus: [*f*] *Religiones mehercule ipsæ, aræque, cùm illam belluam cadere vederunt, commovisse se videntur, & jus in illo suum retinuisse. Vos enim, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque obtestor, vosque Albanorum obrutæ aræ, &c.* "Our "religion, our very altars seemed moved, when that "savage was slain, and seemed to claim their re- "venge. For you, ye Albanian altars and groves, "you, I say, it is you and your overturned altars "that I implore," &c.

"[*g*] Had it not been for this peace, Flanders! "thou bloody theatre, where so many tragic scenes "are exhibited, thou wouldst have increased the "number of our provinces; and, instead of being "the unhappy source of our wars, thou wouldst now "be the peaceable fruit of our victories.

"[*h*] Sword of the Lord, what a dreadful stroke "is this!"

2. *To give Speech to Things inanimate.*

[*i*] Cicero introduces the country, in one of his invectives against Catiline, and makes it sometimes address Catiline, and sometimes himself. Appius likewise, in his beautiful speech for continuing the siege of Veii, introduces the commonwealth declaring to the soldiers, that, since she pays them for the whole year, they ought to serve her for that time. [*k*] *An si ad calculos eum respublica vocet, non meritò dicat: Annua æra habes, annuam operam ede? An tu æquum*

[*f*] Pro Mil. n. 85.
[*g*] Flechier.
[*h*] Bossuet.
[*i*] 1. Catil. n. 18, & 27.
[*k*] Liv. l. 5. n. 4.

censes

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censes militiâ semestri solidum te stipendium accipere? "If the country should come to account with him, "might it not justly say, you are paid by the year; "then why not work by the year? Do you think it "just for half labour to receive full pay?

3. Speeches put into the mouths of the persons themselves, have quite another effect than if they were barely related; and are very well adapted to raise either indignation or compassion.

It is by this Figure that Cicero, in his last speech against Verres, paints the cruel avarice of a gaoler, who set a price on the tears and grief of fathers and mothers; made them purchase, at a dear rate, the sad consolation of seeing and embracing their children; and exacted money from them, for the favour of killing at one stroke those unhappy victims of Verres's cruelty. [*l*] *Aderat janitor carceris, carnifex prætoris, mors terrorque sociorum & civium, lictor Sextius, cui ex omni genitu doloreque certa merces comparabatur. Ut adeas, tantum dabis: ut tibi cibum intrò ferre liceat, tantum. Nemo recusabat. Quid, ut uno ictu securis afferam mortem filio tuo, quid dabis? ne diu crucietur? ne sæpius feriatur? ne cum sensu doloris aliquo aut cruciatu spiritus auferatur? Etiam ob hanc causam pecunia lictori dabatur. O magnum atque intolerandum dolorem! O gravem acerbamque fortunam! Non vitam liberûm, sed mortis celeritatem, pretio redimere cogebantur.* "There "was present the lictor Sextius, the gaoler and exe- "cutioner of the prætor, the terror of the citizens, "and even of his own companions. He received a "tax upon all the groans and pains that were inflict- "ed. If you were to visit your friend in prison, so "much was to be given. If the prisoner was to have "meat sent in, the gaoler must be feed. None ven- "tured to refuse. How much will you give to have "your son's head cut off at one blow? How much "for hastening his tortures? for diminishing his "stripes? for making him give up his breath with "the smallest sense of pain? for all this the execu-

[*l*] Verr. 7. n. 117, 118.

"tioner

"tioner was to be paid. O intolerable grief! O "wretched and bitter fortune! The father was "obliged to pay, not for saving the life of his child, "but for dispatching his death."

Milo was of a character that would not permit him to descend to mean supplications. Cicero puts a great and noble, and at the same time, a soft and moving speech into his mouth: [*m*] *Valeant, inquit, valeant cives mei. Sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati. Stet hæc urbs præclara, mihique patria carissima, quoquo modo merita de me erit. Tranquillâ republicâ cives mei (quoniam mihi cum illis non licet) sine me ipsi, sed per me tamen, perfruantur. Ego cedam atque ubibo, &c.* "Farewel, perhaps he will say, "farewel, my fellow-citizens; may you be happy, "safe, and flourishing. May this famous city, so "dear to me, ever remain, whatever be its conduct "towards me. Let my fellow-citizens enjoy that "tranquillity without me, which they have obtained "by me, if I am not admitted to partake. Yes, I "will give up my claims," &c. [*n*] The effect of this Figure is, to make those persons who are introduced speaking, to be present, as it were, to the auditors; and to write in such a manner, that we may imagine we see and hear them.

4. The orator goes still farther. He sometimes opens graves, and makes the dead rise out of them, to admonish or reprimand the living. We have two fine examples of this Figure in [*o*] Cicero's plea for Cœlius, to which I refer the reader.

At other times, the orator directs his discourse to the dead: "[*p*] Great queen, I gratify your most "affectionate wishes, when I celebrate this monarch; "and this heart, which never lived but for him, "awakens, though it be dust, and becomes sensible, "even under this pall, at the name of so dear a "consort."

[*m*] Pro Mil. n. 92.

[*n*] Non audire judex videtur aliena mala deflentes, sed sensum ac vocem auribus accipere miserorum, quorum etiam mutus aspectus lacrymas movet. Quint. lib. 6. c. 1.

[*o*] Pro Cœl. n. 33, 36.

[*p*] Bossuet.

To

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[q] To make these fictions pleasing, it is requisite, that the utmost strength of eloquence should be employed, as Quintilian observes; for things that are extraordinary and incredible, and, as it were, out of nature, do not produce an indifferent effect. They must therefore necessarily either make a very strong impression, because they go beyond the bounds of truth, or be looked upon as puerilities, because they are false.

[r] The *hypotyposis* is a Figure which paints the image of the things we are speaking of, in such lively colours, that we think we see them, instead of hearing them barely related: and in this chiefly consists the force and power of eloquence, which has not sufficient authority, nor all the effect it ought to have, if it only strikes the ear, without moving the imagination, and reaching the heart.

1. These images are sometimes formed with a few words, and are not the least affecting.

[s] Virgil paints, in a verse and a half, the consternation of Euryalus's mother the instant she heard of his death:

Miseræ calor ossa reliquit:
Excussi manibus radii, revolutaque pensa.

"Chill horrors seiz'd her frame,
"And from her hands the housewife's spindle fell."

[t] Cicero paints in two lines Verres's anger, or rather madness: *Ipse inflammatus scelere ac furore in forum venit. Ardebant oculi; toto ex ore crudelitas eminebat.* "He himself inflamed with guilt and "madness, came into the forum. His eyes burned

[q] Magna quædam vis eloquentiæ desideratur. Falsa enim & incredibilia naturâ necesse est aut magis moveant, quia supra vera sunt; aut pro vanis accipiantur, quia vera non sunt. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.

[r] Ὑποτύπωσις dicitur, proposita quædam forma rerum ita expressa verbis, ut cerni potiùs videatur, quam audiri. Ibid.

Magna virtus est, res, de quibus loquimur, clarè, atque ut cerni videantur, enunciare. Non enim satis efficit, neque, ut debet, plenè dominatur oratio, si usque ad aures volet, atque ea sibi judex, de quibus cognoscit, narrari credit, non exprimi, & oculis mentis ostendi. Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

[s] Æn. l. 9. v. 475.

[t] In Ver. 7. n. 58.

"with

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"with rage, and his face all over spoke nothing but "cruelty."

He elsewhere draws another picture of Verres, still more beautiful, and in as few words, though it does not strike so much at first: as it happens sometimes with pictures, whose beauty is only perceived by the skilful. [u] *Stetit soleatus prætor populi Romani cum pallio purpureo tunicâque talari, mulierculâ nixus in littore.* "The Roman prætor stood in his "slippers covered with a purple cloak, and an effemi- "nate robe, leaning upon a woman on the shore." Quintilian explains, in an admirable manner, the force and energy of that short description. He recites the very words, because they may serve as a model to masters for the better understanding and explaining of authors. [x] *An quisquam*, says he, *tam procul à concipiendis imaginibus rerum abest, ut cum illa in Verrem legit*, stetit soleatus, &c. *non solùm ipsum os intueri videatur, & locum & habitum, sed quædam etiam ex iis, quæ dicta non sunt, sibi ipse astruat? Ego certè mihi cernere videor & vultum, & oculos, & deformes utriusque blanditias, et eorum qui aderant tacitam aversationem, ac timidam verecundiam.* "Is there any of so dull a conception as not "to be struck with this image of Verres; does he "not only behold his face, his dress, the place where "he stands, but also many things not mentioned? "For my part, I think I see his countenance, his "eyes, and all their detestable ogling, together "with the silent aversion, and fearful bashfulness "of all present." If we change some words in Cicero's description, and change the place of others, making it, *stetit Verres in littore . . . cum muliere colloquens*, this excellent picture will lose a great part of its vivacity and colouring. The chief beauty consists in painting a Roman prætor in the attitude Cicero represents him, leaning in a careless and indolent manner on a woman. These two words, *mulierculâ nixus*, are a speaking picture, which presents to the

[u] In Verr. 7. n. 160. [x] Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

eye

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eye and the mind all that Quintilian sees in it, *in littore* reserved for the close, adds the last touch, as we have already observed in another place; and displays the ungovernable licentiousness of Verres, who, by appearing in so indecent a posture upon the shore, and before a multitude of spectators, seemed insolently to set all decency and public decorum at defiance.

Our poets are full of these short and lively descriptions.

[*y*] Son coursier, écumant sous son maître intrépide,
Nage tout orgueilleux de la main qui le guide.
" His foaming steed, beneath his dauntless rider,
" Swims, proud of the glorious hand which guides
" him."

And again,

Quatre bœufs attelés, d'un pas tranquille & lent
Promenoient dans Paris le monarque indolent.
" Four harnessed oxen, with an easy pace,
" Drag the lethargic monarch about Paris."

But nothing is more perfect than the following picture:

La mollesse opressée
Dans sa bouche à ce mot sent sa langue glacée,
Et lasse de parler, succombant sous l'effort,
Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'œil, & s'endort.

" This word oppresses sloth;
" Instant her tongue is frozen in her mouth:
" Now, dead to speech, sinking beneath her efforts,
" She stretches, sighs, she shuts her eyes, and sleeps."

2. The descriptions I have hitherto given are short, and only exhibit a single object. But there are others of a greater length, and more circumstantial, which resemble those pictures where several Figures are represented, all the attitudes of which strike, and command our attention. Such is that description of a riotous entertainment, mentioned in an harangue of

[*y*] Despreaux.

Cicero

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Cecero which is lost. *Videbar mihi videre alios intrantes, alios autem exeuntes, partim ex vino vacillantes, partim hesternâ potatione oscitantes. Versabatur inter hos Gallius unguentis oblitus, redimitus coronis. Humus erat immunda, lutulenta vino, coronis languidulis & spinis co-operta piscium.* "I fancied to myself that I saw some entering, others going out; some staggering in drunkenness, others yawning from last night's debauch. Among them was Gallius employed, crowned with a garland, and smeared with unguents. The pavement was indecent to be seen, moist with wine, and covered over with faded garlands, and the bones of fishes." Quintilian, who preserved this beautiful fragment, displays its beauty and value by a very lively expression, which comprises the whole. [z] *Quid plus videret, qui intrâsset?* "If a man had actually entered, what could he have seen more?" He himself gives an excellent description of a town taken by storm, and plundered, which is well worth reading. We find a great number of this kind in Cicero, which will not escape the observation of a diligent master. Our French poets as well as orators, abound also with a multitude of these.

Josabeth, in Racine's Athaliah, gives us a wonderful description of the manner in which she saved Joas from the slaughter.

[a] Hélas! l'état horrible où le ciel me l'offrit,
Revient à tout moment effrayer mon esprit,
De princes égorgés la chambre étoit remplie.
Un poignard à la main l'implacable Athalie
Au carnage animoit ses barbares soldats,
Et poursuivoit le cours de ses assassinats.
Joas, laissé pour mort, frapa soudain ma vee,
Je me figure encore sa nourrice éperdue,
Qui devant les bourreaux s'étoit jettée en vain,
Et foible le tenoit renversé sur son sein.

[z] Quint. l. 8. c. 3. [a] Racine.

Je

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Je le pris tout sanglant. En baignant son visage,
Mes pleurs du sentiment lui rendirent l'usage :
Et soit frayeur encore, ou pour me caresser,
De ses bras innocens je me sentis presser.

" Alas! the state in which heav'n gave him to me,
" Returns each moment to my frighted soul;
" The room was fill'd around with murder'd princes.
" Dread Athaliah, with her sword unsheath'd,
" Rous'd her barbarian soldiers to the slaughter,
" And still pursued the series of her murders.
" Joas, now left as dead! struck strong my sight:
" Methinks I still behold his weeping nurse,
" Kneeling, in vain, before the bloody hangman;
" The tender babe upon her breast reclin'd.
" I took him bloody: bathing then his face,
" Soon did my tears recal his fleeting breath.
" Whether 'twas fear, or whether to embrace me,
" I felt him press me with his tender arms."

M. Flechier's description of hospitals may serve as a model in this kind. 'Tis in the queen's funeral oration. " Let us behold her in these hospitals, where " she practised her public acts of pity; in those places, " where all the infirmities and accidents of human " life are assembled; where the groans and com- " plaints of those who suffer, and are in pain, fill " the soul with sympathetic sadness; where the smell " that exhales from the bodies of so many diseased pa- " tients, makes those who attend upon them ready to " faint away; where we see pain and poverty exer- " cising their fatal empire; and where the image of " misery and death strikes almost every sense. It is " there, that raising herself above the fears and deli- " cacies of nature, to satisfy her charity, though at " the hazard of her health, she was seen every week " drying up the tears of this object; providing for " the wants of that: procuring remedies and com- " forts for the evils of some, and consolations and " ease of conscience for others."

These passages are very well adapted to the taste of youth.

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youth. [b] We must observe to them, that the most certain way of succeeding in descriptions of this kind is to consult nature, to study her well, and to take her as a guide; so that every one, inwardly sensible of the truth of what is spoken, may find within himself the sentiments expressed in the discourse. [c] For that purpose we must represent to ourselves, in a lively manner, all the circumstances of the thing to be described, and bring it before us by the strength of our imagination, as if we had been spectators of it. [d] And why, says Quintilian, should not the imagination perform as much for the orator on this occasion, as she does for people who are addicted to any kind of passions? as for instance, misers and ambitious men, who in this kind of pleasing dreams, in which they form a thousand chimerical projects of fortune and riches, abandon themselves so much to the object of their darling passion, and are so strongly possessed with it, that they really believe they see and enjoy it.

Quintilian himself furnishes us with a model of this way of making a description, which I will quote at length, because it shews youth how they must proceed in it, in order to compose well. [e] *Ut hominem occisum querar, non omnia, quæ in re præsenti accidisse credibile est, in oculis habebo? Non percussor ille subitus erumpet? non expavescet circumventus? exclamabit, vel rogabit, vel fugiet? non ferientem, non concidentem videbo? non animo sanguis, & pallor, & gemitus, extremus denique expirantis hiatus insidet?* "In order to aggra-

[b] Naturam intueamur, hanc sequamur. Omnis eloquentia circa opera vitæ est; ad se refert quisque quæ audit: & id facillimè accipiunt animi, quod cognoscunt. Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

[c] Per quas (φαντασίας) imagines rerum absentium ita repræsentantur animo, ut eas cernere oculis ac præsentes habere videamur. Has quisquis bene conceperit, is erit in affectibus potentissimus. Hunc quidam dicunt, ὑφαντασίωτον, qui sibi res, voces, actus secundum verum optimè fingit. Quint. l. 6. c. 2.

[d] Nam si inter otia animorum & spes inanes, & velut somnia quædam vigilantium, ita nos hæ de quibus loquimur imagines prosequuntur, ut peregrinari, navigare, præliari, populos alloqui, divitiarum quas non habemus usum videamur disponere, nec cogitare, sed facere: hoc animi vitium ad utilitatem non transferemus? Ibid.

[e] Quint. l. 6. c. 2.

"vate

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" vate the circumstances of a murder, should I not " call up to my imagination every thing that might " possibly happen in such a case? Shall not he that " gave the blow suddenly burst forth? Shall he not " tremble when laid hold on? Will he not either cry " out, or ask for pity, or attempt to escape? Shall " I not represent the one as striking, the other as fall- " ing? Will not the blood, the paleness, the groans, " nay, even the last sighs of the deceased, be present " to my mind?" This passage seems to be copied from Cicero, who thus describes a like action. [f] *Nonne vobis hæc, quæ audistis, cernère oculis videmini, judices? Non illum miserum ignarum casûs sui, redeuntem à cænâ videtis? non positas insidias? non impetum repentinum? Non versatur ante oculos vobis in cæde Glaucia? Non adest iste Roscius? non suis manibus in curru collocat Automedontem illum, sui sceleris acerbissimi nefariæque victoriæ nuncium?* " Do you not, my judges, seem to behold " what has been thus related to you? Do you not " see that poor man, ignorant of his fate, returning " from supper? Do you not behold the assassins in " ambush? their sudden irruption? Does not Glau- " cia seem active in this horrid scene? Is not Roscius " also there assisting? Does he not, with his own " hands, place his Automedon, if I may so speak, " that partner of his guilt, and messenger of his cruel " success, in the chariot by him?"

IMAGES.

The last words of the description I have here cited, direct me to point out to youth in this place one of the most common sources of oratorial beauties, which consists in giving, as it were, body and reality to the things we are speaking of; and painting them by visible strokes, which may strike the senses, move the imagination, and present a sensible object. This method has some relation to the precedent figure, the hypotyposis, and perhaps is a part of it. *Non suis ma-*

[f] Pro Rosc. Amer. n. 98.

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nibus in curru collocat Automedontem illum? These words, *suis manibus*, produce here the effect I am speaking of, and present an image to the mind. The same observation may be made on the two verses above-cited.

Un poignard à la main, l'implacable Athalie
Au carnage animoit ses barbares soldats.

Englished.

" Fierce Athaliah, in her hand a poniard,
" Prompted her savage soldiers to the slaughter."

This touch, *with a poniard in her hand*, forms all the vivacity of these lines. The objects we describe may be painted in this manner with infinite variety, of which I shall give several examples, that the reader may apply to the rule I have already given.

[*g*] *Tendit ad vos virgo vestalis manus supplices easdem, quas pro vobis diis immortalibus tendere consuevit. . . Prospicite ne ignis ille æternus, nocturnis Fonteiæ laboribus vigiliisque servatus, sacerdotis Vestæ lacrymis extinctus esse dicatur.* " The vestal " stretches forth to you her suppliant hands, those " hands with which she has often implored the gods " for your safety. Be mindful, lest that eternal fire, " which has been kept alive be the nightly watchings " and labours of Fonteia, should be in a manner " quenched by the tears of this sacred priestess.

[*h*] *Hæc magnitudo maleficii facit, ut, nisi penè manifestum parricidium proferatur, credibile non sit. . . . Penè dicam respersas manus sanguine paterno judices videant oportet, si tantum facinus, tam immane, tam acerbum crediturі sint.* " The greatness of the crime of parricide is such, that unless " it be almost manifest, it should not be believed. I " had almost said, that the judges should even see " the murderer's hands red with his father's blood, " before they give credit to his committing a crime " so hideous and so unnatural."

[*g*] Pro. M. Font. n. 37, 38. [*h*] Pro Rosc. Amer. n. 68.

" What

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" [*i*] What nation has not felt the effects of his " valour; and which of our frontier towns has not " served as a theatre to his glory.

" In the tumult and noise of armies, he used to en- " tertain himself with the sweet and secret hopes of " solitude. With one hand he fell upon the Ama- " lekites, while the other was lifted up to draw down " upon himself the blessings of heaven.

" It taught him to lift up his pure, his innocent " hands, to heaven.

" Before he accepted of any post or employment, " he would know the duties of it. The first tribunal " he ascended, was that of his conscience, there to " examine his intentions thoroughly.

" When he restored God's worship in his con- " quests, and as he was marching upon those ramparts " he had a little before demolished, his first homage " was his offering to God the laurels he had won, at " the foot of his altars which he restored.

" I am not afraid of blending her praises with the " sacrifice offered for her; and I take from the altar " all the incense I burn upon her tomb. . . . Why " should I take off the veil which she threw over her " actions?

" He made it his study to discover truth, through " the veils of falsehood and imposture with which hu- " man lusts cover it.

" [*k*] Are such truths learnt at court, in the army, " under the helmet, and the coat of mail?

" [*l*] You think then, that anxiety, and the most " deadly sorrows, are not to be hid under royal robes; " or that a kingdom is an universal remedy against all " evils?

" Methinks I still see that flower falling." *Speak- " ing of the death of an infant prince.*

" When all things submitted to Lewis, and we be- " lieved the miraculous times were returning, when " walls fell down at the sound of trumpets; the " whole nation cast their eyes on the queen, and

[*i*] Flechier. [*k*] Mascar. [*l*] Bossuet.

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" thought they saw the thunder, which demolished
" so many cities, fly from her oratory.

" [*m*] With a calm and serene aspect, he (Lewis
" XIV.) formed those thunderbolts which were
" heard throughout the world, and those which still
" remain to be hurled."

[*n*] Pour comble de prosperité,
Il espère *(l'impie)* revivre en sa postérité :
Et d'enfans à sa table une riante troupe
Semble boire avec lui la joie à pleine coupe.

Englished.

" The wretch, more prosp'rous still,
" Hopes to revive in his posterity :
" Fancies his children are conversing with him,
" And, flush'd with joy, smile o'er the flowing
" bowls."

Before I conclude this article, I must observe in general, [*o*] that Figures ought to be applied with great discernment and prudence. They are like seasoning to an oration; they raise the style, make us quit the vulgar and common way of speaking, prevent the distaste which a tiresome uniformity would occasion; but then they must be employed sparingly, and with discretion; for, if they are used too often, they lose the grace of variety, in which their principal merit consists; and the more they shine, the more they disgust and tire, from a vicious affectation, which shews they are not natural, but far-fetched, with too much care, and, as it were, forced in.

It is not necessary to observe, that some Figures are so common and trivial, they have lost all their beauty,

[*m*] Pelisson.
[*n*] Racine.
[*o*] Una in re maximè utilis, ut quotidiani & semper eodem modo formati sermonis fastidium levet, & nos à vulgari dicendi genere defendat. Quo si quis parcè, & cum res poscet, utetur, velut asperso quodam condimento, jucundior erit. At qui nimiùm affectaverit, ipsam illam gratiam varietatis amittet... Nam & secretæ, & extra vulgarem usum positæ, ideoque magis nobiles; ut novitate aurem excitant, ita copiâ satiant: nec se obvias fuisse dicenti, sed conquisitas, & ex omnibus latebris extractas congestasque declarant. Qint. l. 9. c. 3.

especially

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especially when they are too long. [p] *Miserum est exturbari fortunis omnibus: miserius est injuriâ. Acerbum est . . . acerbius. Calamitosum est . . . calamitosius. Funestum est . . . funestius. Indignum est . . indignius. Luctuosum est . . . luctuosius. Horribile est . . . horribilius.* The auditor anticipates the answer, and is tired of this burden of a song always in the same strain. The same may be observed of the other Figure, which is still more tedious. [q] *Qui sunt qui fœdera sæpe ruperunt? Carthaginienses. Qui sunt qui in Italiâ crudele bellum gesserunt? Carthaginienses. Qui sunt, &c.*

ARTICLE VI.

OF ORATORIAL PRECAUTIONS.

I HERE give that name to a certain care which the orator must take not to offend the delicacy of those before or of whom he is speaking; and the studied and artful turns which he employs to express some things, that would otherwise appear harsh and offensive. I call this oratorial Precautions, because it contains an art and address, certainly essential to rhetoric, and for that reason deserves the attention of youth. Some examples will render the thing more obvious.

Chrysogonus, Sylla's freedman, was in such credit with his master (who was then absolute in the commonwealth), that no lawyer durst plead against him in behalf of Roscius. Cicero only, though very young, had the courage to undertake so delicate a cause. [r] He is very careful throughout the whole speech to observe in several places, that Sylla was a stranger to all the villainies of his freedman; that great industry had been used to conceal them from him; that those who could have informed him of them, were denied all access to him; that, on the whole, it was not surprising,

[p] Pro. Quint. n. 95.
[q] Cornif. l. 4.
[r] Pro Rosc. n. 21, 22, 25, 91, 110, 127.

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that [s] Sylla, who alone had the care of re-establishing and governing the commonwealth, should not know or neglect several things, since a great many escaped the knowledge and attention of Jupiter himself in the government of the universe. It is very obvious, that such Precautions were absolutely necessary.

Cicero, in his pleading, called *Divinatio in Verrem*, is obliged to shew, that he is fitter to plead against Verres than Cecilius. [t] Such a cause was to be managed with great address and conduct, to avoid giving offence; for self-praise is always odious, especially when it turns on wit and eloquence. After Cicero had proved, that Cecilius had none of the qualifications necessary for a cause of so much importance, he is far from ascribing them to himself: so gross a vanity would have set every body against him. [u] He says only, that he had laboured all his life to acquire them; and that if he was not able to succeed, notwithstanding his great pains and industry, it is not surprising that Cecilius, who never had any idea of this noble profession, should be absolutely incapable of it.

When he pleaded for Flaccus, he was to invalidate the testimony of several Greeks, who had sworn against his client. To do this the more effectually, he attempts to depreciate the nation itself, as not over-scrupulous in matters of veracity and sincerity. He does not begin abruptly with so harsh a charge. At first, he sets apart, as it were, a real number of worthy persons, who are far from being carried away with the blind passion of some of their countrymen. He afterwards gives great encomiums to the whole nation, highly magnifying their genius, abilities, politeness, their taste for arts, and their marvellous talent for eloquence; but he adds, that the Greeks

[s] N. 131.

[t] Intelligo quàm scopuloso difficilique in loco verser. Nam cùm omnis arrogantia odiosa est, tum illa ingenii atque eloquentiæ multò molestissima, n. 36.

[u] Fortasse dices: Quid? Ergo hæc in te sunt omnia? Utinam quidem essent! veruntamen ut esse possent, magno studio mihi à pueritiâ est elaborandum, n. 40.

never

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never piqued themselves upon being exact or sincere in giving evidence. [x] *Veruntamen hoc dico de toto genere Græcorum: tribuo illis literas; do multarum artium disciplinam; non adimo sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam; denique etiam, si qua sibi alia sumunt, non repugno: testimoniorum religionem & fidem nunquam ista natio coluit, totiusque hujusce rei quæ sit vis, quæ auctoritas, quod pondus, ignorant.* "But let me give the "Greeks their due praise. I allow them to be learn- "ed, perfectly skilled in many of the arts; I do not "refuse them an elegance of style, a penetration of "genius, or a facility of speaking. Nay, if there be "any other merit they are willing to claim, I will not "refuse it; but that nation was never remarkable for "integrity in giving their testimony. They are to- "totally ignorant of the force, the weight, and the "authority of an oath."

We know Cicero chiefly excelled in moving the passions, and that he often drew tears from the eyes of his auditors, by the soft and affecting discourse he put into the mouths of his clients, in the conclusion of his pleadings. The greatness of soul and noble pride upon which Milo valued himself, deprived his advocate of so powerful a resource. [y] But Cicero had the art of making even his courage of service towards gaining the favour of the judges; and he himself assumed the character of a petitioner, which he could not give to his client.

The inviolable respect which children owe to their parents, even when they treat them with rigour and injustice, makes some conjunctures very difficult, in which they are obliged to speak against their parents; and it is on these occasions that true rhetoric furnishes turns, and artful strokes, which give to paternal authority whatever is its due, without losing any of the advantages of the cause. [z] It must then be inculcated,

[x] Pro Flacco, n. 9.

[y] Ergo & ille captavit ex illâ præstantiâ animi favorem, & in locum lacrymarum ejus ipse successit. Quint. l. 6. c. 1.

[z] Hoc illis commune remedium est; si in totâ actione æqualiter appareat, non honor modò, sed etiam

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cated, that nothing but indispensible necessity can force, from the mouths of children, complaints which their hearts would suppress; and that even through those complaints, not only a fund of respect may be discovered, but one of love and tenderness also. A fine example of this precept may be seen in the pleading for Cluentius, whom his mother treated with unheard-of cruelty.

[a] The rule I have now touched upon regards every inferior, who has any just pretensions against a superior, whom he ought to respect and honour.

There are some occasions where interest or decency will not permit us to explain ourselves in express terms [b], but in which we would, at the same time, insinuate to the judge some things we dare not speak openly. A son, for example, cannot gain his suit without discovering a crime of which his father is guilty. [c] The things themselves, says Quintilian, must lead the judge insensibly to guess at what the parties are unwilling to declare; that, every other motive being laid aside, he may be forced, as it were, to see the only one which remains; and which the respect for a father hinders him from discovering. And then, the son's speech being suspended and interrupted from time to time, as it were by a forced silence, and a warm sense of tenderness, must explain the violence he does himself, to prevent his letting words drop, which the force of truth would seemingly extort from him. By this, the judge is inclined to enquire after that inexpressible something, which he would not perhaps have believed, had it been discovered to him; but which he now is fully convinced of, from the belief that he has discovered it by his own enquiry.

am caritas: præterea causa sit nobis justa sic dicendi; neque id moderatè tantùm faciamus, sed etiam necessariò. Quint. l. 11. c. 1.

[a] N. 12, & 17.

[b] In quo per quandam suspicionem, quod non dicimus, accipi volumus. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.

[c] Res ipsæ perducant judicem ad suspicionem, & amoliamur cætera, ut hoc solum supersit: in quo multum etiam affectus juvant, & interrupta silentio dictio, & cunctationes. Sic enim fiet, ut judex quærat illud nescio quid, quod ipse fortasse non crederet, si audiret; & ei, quod à se inventum existimat, credat. Ibid.

There

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There are likewise some persons of so venerable a character, and so universal a reputation, that their very names are enough to bear down their adversaries. Such was Cato in his contest with Murena; and we cannot make youth too sensible of the surprising art with which [d] Cicero deprived Cato of some part of his authority and credit, by the picture he drew of the sect of the Stoics, which he turned into ridicule with so much wit and humour, that Cato himself could not forbear laughing at it; and this, without saying any thing derogatory to his person, which was to be, in a manner, sacred to him, and was certainly inaccessible, and impregnable to any kind of censure.

Was there ever a nicer or more difficult affair than that which Cicero undertook, in opposing the levelling or Agrarian law? for so they called the law which appointed lands to be distributed among the poorest of people. That law had at all times served the tribunes as a bait to gain the populace, and to fix them in their interest. It appeared indeed to be very much in their favour, by procuring them repose, and a safe retreat. However, Cicero undertakes to make the people themselves reject it, just after they had chosen him consul with unparalleled marks of distinction. Had he begun with speaking openly against that law, the whole people would have exclaimed and rose against him. He was too wise, and too well acquainted with men, to act after that manner. It deserves our admiration, to see how long he keeps his auditors in suspence, without letting them discover what party he had taken, or what opinion he intended to inculcate. He employs at first all the power of his eloquence, to shew the people the lively sense he had of the very signal favour he had lately received from them. He carefully heightens all the circumstances of it, which reflected so much honour upon him. He afterwards takes notice of the duties and

[d] Quàm molli autem articulo tractavit Catonem, cujus naturam summè admiratus, non ipsius vitio sed Stoicæ sectæ, quibusdam in rebus factam duriorem videri volebat! Quint. l. 11. c. 3.

obligations,

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obligations, which so unanimous a consent of the people in chusing him consul, had laid him under. He declares, that, as he is obliged to them for all his honours and dignities, he shall always have the popular interest at heart, not only during the continuance of his office, but during his life. But he takes notice, that the word *popular* requires explanation: and, after shewing its various acceptations; after he had discovered the secret intrigues of the tribunes, who concealed their ambitious design under that plausible name; after he had highly applauded the Gracchi, who were zealous defenders of the Agrarian law, and whose memory, for that reason, was so dear to the Roman people; after he had thus insinuated himself by degrees into the minds of the auditors, and gained them entirely; he does not, however, dare yet attack openly the law in question, but contents himself with protesting, that, in case the people, after hearing him, don't acknowledge, that this law, under a deceitful outside, gives in effect a blow to their quiet and their liberty, he then will join with them, and submit to their opinion. This is a perfect model of what we call an *insinuatory exordium* in the schools; and methinks one such passage as this is sufficient for forming the understanding of youth, and teaching them the dexterous and respectful way of combating the opinions of those who are not to be opposed directly on the score of acknowledgment and submission. This discourse had all the effect which was expected from it; and the people, being undeceived by the eloquent discourse of their consul, repealed the Agrarian law.

The passage in Cicero's oration for Ligarius, where an enquiry is made what people ought to think of Pompey's party, required to be handled with great nicety. Tubero had declared those to be criminal who bore arms against Cæsar. Cicero heightens and condemns the harshness of that expression: and, after recapitulating the different names given to the conduct of those who had declared for Pompey, as error, fear, lust, passion,

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passion, prepossession, intoxication, rashness; "For "my part, says he, if people ask me, what is the pro- "per and true name which ought to be given to our "misfortune, methinks it is a fatal influence that has "blinded men, and forced them along, in spite of "all their endeavours to the contrary; so that we "must not wonder to see the unsurmountable will of "the Gods prevail over the counsels of men." [e] *Ac mihi quidem, si propriuin & verum nomen nostri mali quæratur, fatalis quædam calamitas incidisse videtur, & improvidas hominum mentes occupavisse: ut nemo mirari debeat, humana consilia divinâ necessitate esse superata.* There was nothing in this definition injurious to Pompey's party; and, so far from offending Cæsar, it pleased him very much.

Such of our writers as have treated of the last civil wars of France, seem to have had the above-mentioned passage of Cicero in view; but then they have very much improved upon the original.

[f] "Alas, unhappy France! though thou gottest "rid of that enemy, were there not still enough re- "maining, without turning thine arms against thy- "self? What fatal influence could induce thee to "shed so much blood? Why cannot we obliterate "those melancholy years from history, and keep "them from the knowledge of our posterity? But "since it is impossible to pass over things, which the "shedding of so much blood has too strongly record- "ed, let us reveal them at least, like that artful "painter who invented the profile, in order to con- "ceal the blemishes in a face. Let us remove from "our sight that darkness of mind, that fatal night, "which, being formed in the confusion of public af- "fairs by so many different interests, made even "those go astray, who sought for the right path."

[g] "Do you, gentlemen, remember that period "of disorder and confusion, when the gloomy spirit

[e] Pro Ligar. n. 171.
[f] Mascar. M. de Turenne's funeral oration.
[g] Fléchier, in M. de Turenne's funeral oration.

of

" of discord confounded justice and right with pas-
" sion, duty with interest, the good cause with the
" bad; when most of the brightest stars suffered some
" eclipse, and the most faithful subjects saw them-
" selves involuntarily drawn away by the torrent of
" parties; like those pilots, who, finding themselves
" surprised by a storm in the midst of the ocean, are
" obliged to change their course, and abandon them-
" selves for a time to the winds and the tempest?
" Such is God's justice; such is the natural infirmity
" of men; but the wise man easily recovers himself,
" and there is both in politics, and in religion, a kind
" of repentance more glorious than innocence itself,
" which makes an advantageous reparation for a little
" frailty by extraordinary virtues, and a continual
" fervour.

[*h*] " What shall I say? God suffered the winds
" and waves to roar and toss, and the storm arose. A
" pestiferous air of factions and insurrections won the
" heart of the state, and extended itself to the most
" distant parts. The passions, which our sins had
" kindled, broke down the fences of justice and rea-
" son; and the wisest men, being drawn away by the
" unhappiness of engagements and conjectures,
" against their own inclinations, found they had
" strayed beyond the bounds of their duty before
" they perceived it."

ARTICLE VII.

OF THE PASSIONS.

I SHOULD be extremely tedious, did I undertake to touch even but cursorily upon all that concerns this subject, it being one of the most important in rhetoric. It is known that the passions are, as it were, the soul of an oration: that it is from them it derives that impetuosity and vehemence, which bear

[*h*] M. Fléchier, in M. de Tellier's funeral oration.

down

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down all before them; and [i] that the orator by their means attains an absolute empire over his auditors, and inspires them with whatever sentiments he pleases; sometimes, by artfully taking advantage of the bias and favourable disposition of people's minds, but at other times in surmounting all their opposition by the victorious strength of the oration, and obliging them to surrender, as it were, in spite of themselves. Cæsar was not able to resist, when he heard Cicero's defence of Ligarius, though he was much upon his guard against his eloquence; being determined, when he came out of his own house, not to pardon the latter.

I think it sufficient to refer youth to Cicero's * perorations, and to exhort them to make the application themselves, of the excellent precepts left us by Cicero and Quintilian on this subject. [k] The most important of all is, that in order to affect others, we must be affected ourselves; for which end, we must be deeply touched with the subject we treat of, be fully convinced of it, and be sensible of its whole truth and importance. We must likewise form a strong representation to ourselves of the things we would make use of to move the passions of the auditors, and describe them in a warm and lively manner; and this we shall do, if we are careful to study nature, and to take her always for our guide. [l] For whence comes it, that we see ignorant persons express them-

[i] Tantam vim habet illa, quæ rectè à bono poetâ dicta est, *flexanima atque omnium regina rerum oratio*, ut non modò inclinantem erigere, aut stantem inclinare, sed etiam adversantem & repugnantem, ut imperator bonus ac fortis, capere possit. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 187.

* Conclusions of a speech.

[k] Summa circa movendos affectus in hoc posita est, ut moveamur ipsi. . . Primum est ut apud nos valeant eaquæ valere apud judicem volumus, afficiamurque antequam afficere conemur. . . Ubi miseratione opus erit, nobis ea de quibus querimur, accidisse credamus, atque id animo nostro persuadeamus. Nos illi simus, quos gravia, indigna, tristia passos queramur. Nec agamus rem quasi alienam, sed assumamus parumper illum dolorem. Ita dicemus, quæ in simili nostro casu dicturi essemus. Quintil. l. 6. c. 2.

[l] Quid enim aliud est causæ, ut lugentes utique in recenti dolore disertissimè quædam exclamare videantur, & ira nonnunquam indoctis quoque eloquentiam faciat, quàm quòd illis inest vis mentis, & veritas ipsa morum? Quint. l. 6. c. 3.

selves,

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selves with so much eloquence, in the first sallies of their grief or anger, except it is because those sensations are not studied or fictitious, but drawn from truth and nature itself?

[*m*] An Athenian having intreated Demosthenes to plead for him against a citizen, from whom he pretended to have received a great affront; and as he was giving a relation of his pretended ill usage with a cold and sedate tone of voice, without passion or warmth: not a word of this is true, says Demosthenes; you have not been ill treated, as you say you were. How! replies the other, raising his voice, and seeming in a great passion: Have not I been ill treated, have not I been injured? Upon hearing this tone of voice, Demosthenes perceived the truth, and undertook the cause. [*n*] Cicero relates something like this, of an orator named Callidius, against whom he pleaded: What! says he, if it were true that a design was formed against your life, as you pretend, would you speak of an attempt of this kind with such a languid careless air, which, so far from moving the passions of your auditors, is fit only to lull them asleep? Is that the language of grief and indignation, which put lively and animated complaints into the mouths even of children? These two examples shew, that we must be moved ourselves, if we would move others, and feel the same emotions in our breasts, with which we would inspire others.

[*o*] *Si vis me flere, dolendum est* primùm *ipsi tibi.*

[*p*] The peroration is the proper place for the passions. It is there the orator displays all that is powerful, tender, and moving in eloquence, according to the importance and nature of the affair, in order to

[*m*] Plut. in vit. Demosth.

[*n*] Hoc ipsum posuit pro argumento, quòd ille tam solutè egisset, tam leniter, tam oscitanter. Tu isthuc, M. Callidi, nisi fingeres, sic ageres? . . . Ubi dolor? ubi ardor animi, qui etiam ex infantium ingeniis elicere voces & querelas solet! Nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis. . . Itaque tantum abfuit ut inflammares nostros animos: somnum isto loco vix tenebamus. Brut. n. 277, 278.

[*o*] Horat.

[*p*] Quint. l. 6. c. 1.

complete

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complete his conquest over the hearts of the auditors, and to extort their consent.

Sometimes he does not stay till the conclusion, to raise the passions in this manner; but places them after every narrative, when the cause comprehends several of them; or after every part of the narrative, when it is too long; or, lastly, after the proof of every fact, and it is that we call amplification. The invectives against Verres furnish a great many examples of this kind.

The orator likewise moves the passions in the other parts of the oration, [q] but more concisely, and with much greater caution and reserve. [r] *Omnes hos affectus—aliæ quoque partes recipiunt, sed breviores.* And this is what Antony observed with such success in his fine oration for Norbanus: [s] *Ut tu illa omnia odio, invidiâ, misericordiâ miscuisti!* says Sulpicius, after he had run through and pointed out the whole series, and all the several parts of the oration.

"[t] I wonder at those, says Quintilian, who pre-
"tend that the passions are not to be raised in narra-
"tion. If they mean only by this, that we are not
"to dwell long upon them, as is practised in the per-
"oration, they are in the right; for there we must
"avoid prolixity. But I do not see the reason why
"endeavours should not be used to affect the judges
"while the orator is informing them of the state of
"the case, since, if we have then been able to inspire
"them with sentiments of anger or compassion, they
"will be much better disposed to receive and relish
"the proofs. [u] Cicero used this method in de-
"scribing the punishment of a [x] Roman citizen, and
"in relating, in another place, the cruelty of Verres
"to Philodamus" *Quid? Philodami casum nonne* per totam expositionem *incendit invidia?* (words that shew the whole narration is moving and pathetic.)

[q] Degustanda hæc (miseratio) procemio, non consumenda. Quint. l. 4. c. 1.
[r] Ibid.
[s] Cic. lib. de Orat. n. 203.
[t] Quint. l. 4. c. 2.
[u] Verr. 7. n. 171.
[x] Ver. 3. n. 76.

"Indeed,

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" Indeed, [*y*] to wait till the end of the oration, in " order to draw compassion for things which we had " related with dry eyes, is a little too late." A relation of grave and moving subjects would be very imperfect, if it were not lively and passionate.

[*z*] The passage relating to Gavius's punishment in the last invective against Verres, would alone be sufficient to justify the rules we have now laid down. [*a*] After Cicero had prepared for the fact by a kind of exordium, which is very vehement, [*b*] and related the manner of, and the reason why, Gavius was carried to Messina before [*c*] Verres, he comes to the description of the punishment. He insists at first upon these two circumstances, *viz.* whipping a Roman citizen in the middle of the forum at Messina, and fixing him on a cross. These circumstances are not related coldly, or without passion, but after a very lively and moving manner: *Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Messanæ civis Romanus, judices, cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia illius miseri inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, nisi hæc:* Civis Romanus sum. *Hâc se commemoratione civitatis omnia verba depulsurum, cruciatumque à corpore dejecturum arbitrabatur. Is non modò hoc non perfecit, ut virgarum vim deprecaretur: sed, cùm imploraret sæpius, usurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux inquam, infelici & æruinnoso, qui nunquam istam potestatem viderat comparabatur.* " In the midst of " the forum, of the city of Messina, a Roman citizen " was beaten with rods. During this cruel ceremony, " during all the smacks of the scourge, no groan " was heard, nor no other sound escaped the unhappy " victim, but that of, *I am a citizen of Rome.* By " the bare mentioning of that name, he supposed he " could mitigate the severity of his punishment, and " keep off the tormenting whip. But so far was he " from averting the torture that was inflicting, that " on the contrary, after often imploring and using

[*y*] Serum est advocare his rebus affectum, quas securus narraveris.
[*z*] N. 157, 171.
[*a*] N. 157, 158.
[*b*] N. 159.
[*c*] N. 160, 161.

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" the name of citizen, the cross, I say the cross, was " prepared for the miserable man," &c.

This narrative, which is very pathetic in itself, is followed by the amplification, [*d*] in which Cicero, with his usual eloquence, displays all the indignity of this ill usage of Gavius. *O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis!* " O thou dear name " of liberty! O thou established right of our city!" &c.

[*e*] He relates one of the late circumstances of the execution, and reproaches Verres with having industriously made choice, for putting a Roman citizen to death, of a place from whence the unhappy wretch might, as he was dying, see Italy from the top of the gallows: *Ut ille, qui se civem Romanum diceret, ex cruce Italiam cernere, ac domum suam prospicere posset.* This thought, which is very moving, though expressed in two lines, is immediately after enlarged and explained. *Italiæ conspectus ad eam rem ab isto electus est, ut ille in dolore cruciatuque moriens, perangusto freto divisa servitutis ac libertatis jura cognosceret; Italia autem alumnum suum extremo summoque supplicio affectum videret.* " A place " where Italy might be seen, was chosen for that " purpose by Verres, that the poor man, who was " expiring in pains and torments, might know that " the boundaries between liberty and servitude were " very narrow; and that Italy might see one of its " children unjustly dying, with all the severity of " torture."

[*f*] The amplification follows of course, and it represents that circumstance in the most glaring light possible. *Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum, &c.*

[*g*] In fine, Cicero concludes all this passage with a figure equally bold and pathetic; and by a last reflection, which affects all the citizens, and seems to be a kind of epilogue, by saying, that if he should speak in a desert, the hardest rocks would be moved with the relation of so unworthy a treatment. How much

[*d*] N. 161, 167.
[*e*] N. 168.
[*f*] N. 169.
[*g*] N. 170, 171.

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more reason then have the senators and judges to be affected, who, by their conditions and stations, are the protectors of the laws, and defenders of the Roman liberty? *Si in aliquâ desertissimâ solitudine ad saxa & scopulos hæc conqueri & deplorare vellem, tamen omnia muta atque inanima tantâ & tam indignâ rerum atrocitate commoverentur, &c.* "If I "complained and wept of these things, in the midst "of a desert, to the rocks and the stones, yet mute "and inanimate as they are, they would be moved "at so atrocious, so base a proceeding."

This is a perfect model of the manner how a narration may be vehement, either in the relation itself, or by the reflections which follow it.

[*h*] A kind of chance furnished Crassus instantaneously with a very lively and vehement turn of eloquence. Cicero has preserved it in his second book *de Oratore.* Whilst Crassus was pleading against Brutus, the funeral of a Roman lady, who was related to the latter, came into the forum, where it is known that orators used to harangue. Upon this, he discontinued his oration, and says to Brutus: "What news "would you have this lady to carry to your father? "What would you have her say to those famous Ro- "mans, whose images are carried with this funeral, "to your ancestors; to that Brutus who delivered "the people from kingly government? What shall "she tell them you are employed in? Upon what ce- "lebrated action, what virtue, on what kind of glory "shall she tell them you value yourself?" And after he had made a long catalogue of all his faults; "Can "you still, says he, after all this, bear the light of

[*b*] Quas tragœdias egit idem (Crassus) cum casu in eâdem causâ cum funere efferretur anus Junia! Proh, Dii immortales, quæ fuit illa, quanta vis? quam inexpectata? quam repentina? cùm, conjectis oculis, gestu omni imminenti, summâ gravitate & celeritate verborum: Brute, quid sedes? Quid illam anum patri nunciare vis tuo? quid illis omnibus, quorum imagines duci vides? quid majoribus tuis? quid L. Bruto, qui hunc populum dominatu regio liberavit? quid te facere? cui rei, cui gloriæ, cui virtuti studere? Patrimonio-ne augendo, &c. Tu lucem aspicere audes? tu hos intueri? Tu in foro, tu in urbe, tu in civium esse conspectu? tu illam mortuam, tu imagines ipsas non perhorrescis? n. de Orat. n. 225, 226.

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" the sun? shew yourself in the city? appear before " your fellow-citizens? Ought not the very sight of " this corpse, and these images, which seem to re- " proach you with all your extravagancies, to fill you " with fear and horror?"

Sometimes only a turn, or a sentiment thrown into a speech, produced this effect. Cicero, in the short narrative he made in pleading for Ligarius, might, according to Quintilian's observation, be satisfied with saying, [i] *Tum Ligarius nullo se implicari negotio passus est.* [k] But he joins an image to it, which makes the narrative more probable and moving. *Tum Ligarius domum spectans, & ad suos redire cupiens, nullo se implicari negotio passus est.*

[l] Virgil, in less than a single verse, gives a very moving description of the death of a young man, who had left Argos, the place of his birth, in order to attach himself to Evander,

Et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos.

" And his last thoughts recal his native Argos."

[m] This tender regard of a dying young man for his country, which he should never see more, and melancholy remembrance of what was most delightful and dear to him in the world, form a beautiful picture in three words: *dulces . . . reminiscitur . . . moriens.*

These passages are very moving, because the images they express awaken the sentiments of love and tenderness for one's country, which every man bears in his heart; and they have a nearer relation to that kind of emotions we are going to speak of.

[n] Besides this first species of the strongest and most violent passions, which the rhetoricians call πάθος there is another sort they call ἦθος, which consists in

[i] Pro Ligar. n. 3.

[k] Ita, quod exponebat, & ratione fecit credibile, & affectus quoque implevit. Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

[l] Æneid. l. 10. v. 782.

[m] Quid? Non idem poeta penitus ultimi fati cepit imaginem, ut diceret, *Et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos?* Ibid.

[n] Affectus igitur hos concitatos, illos mites atque compositos esse dixerunt: in altero vehementer commotos, in altero lenes: denique hos imperare, illos persuadere; hos ad perturbationem, illos ad benevolentiam prævalere. Quint. l. 6. c. 3.

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softer and more insinuating sentiments, and yet are not therefore less moving or lively; [o] the effect of which is not to overthrow and carry away every thing, as it were by main force; but to affect and soften, by insinuating itself gently into the most inward recesses of the auditors hearts. These Passions are natural to those who are united in some strict union; a prince and his subjects, a father and his children, a tutor and his pupils, a benefactor and those who receive the effects of his beneficence. Those Passions consist, with superiors who have been injured, in a certain character of mildness, goodness, humanity, and patience, which is without gall and bitterness; can bear injuries, and forget them; and which cannot resist prayers and tears; and with the culpable, in a readiness in being made sensible of their faults: acknowledging them; testifying their grief for them; humbling and submitting themselves, and giving all the satisfaction that can be desired. All this must be done after a plain and natural manner, without study and affectation; the air, the outward behaviour, the gesture,

[o] Ἦθος id erit, quod ante omnia bonitate commendabitur: non solum mite ac placidum, sed plerumquè blandum & humanum, & audientibus amabile atque jucundum. In quo exprimendo summa virtus ea est, ut fluere omnia ex naturâ rerum hominumqne videantur, quo mores dicentis ex oratione pelluceant, & quodammodo agnoscantur. Quod est sine dubio inter conjunctas maximè personas, quoties perferimus, ignoscimus, satisfacimus, monemus, procul ab irâ, procul ab odio. . . Hoc omne bonum & comem virum poscit. Quint. l. 6. c. 3.

Duo sunt, quæ bene tractata ab oratore admirabilem eloquentiam faciunt: quorum alterum est quod Græci ἠθικὸν vocant, ad naturam, & ad mores, & ad omnem vitæ consuetudinem accommodatum: alterum quod iidem παθητικὸν nominant, quo perturbantur animi & concitantur, in quo uno regnat oratio. Illud superius come, jucundum, ad benevolentiam conciliandam comparatum; hoc, vehemens, incensum, incitatum, quo causæ eripiuntur: quod cùm rapidè fertur, sustineri nullo pacto potest. Orat. n. 128.

Non semper fortis oratio quæritur, sed sæpe placida, summissa, lenis, quæ maximè commendat reos. . . . Horum igitur exprimere mores oratione, justos, integros, religiosos, timidos, perferentes injuriarum, mirum quiddam valet: & hoc vel in principiis, vel in re narrandâ, vel in perorando tantam habet vim, si est suaviter & cum sensu tractatum, ut sæpe plus quam causa valeat. Tantum autem efficitur sensu quodam ac ratione dicendi, ut quasi mores orationis effingat oratio. Genere enim quodam sententiarum, & genere verborum, adhibitâ etiam actione leni, facilitateque significandi, efficitur ut probi, ut bene morati, ut boni viri esse videantur. n. de Orat. n. 183, 184.

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ture, tone of voice, style, and every thing, must breathe something inexpressibly soft and tender, which proceeds from the heart, and goes directly to it. The manners of the person who speaks must shew themselves in his discourse, without his observing it. It is well known, that nothing is more amiable than such a character, not only for eloquence, but in the ordinary commerce of life; and we cannot prompt youth too much to be attentive to it, to study and imitate it.

[p] We find a beautiful example of this in a homily of St. John Chrysostom to the people of Antioch. As this passage is very eloquent, and very fit to form the taste of youth, suffer me to expatiate a little more upon it, than perhaps the matter I am now discussing requires; and to make a kind of an analysis and epitome of it.

The emperor Theodosius had sent some officers and soldiers to Antioch, in order to punish that rebellious city for a sedition, in which his own statues and those of his deceased consort Flaccilla were thrown down. Flavian, bishop of Antioch, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, notwithstanding his very advanced age, and though his sister was dying when he left her, set out immediately to implore that prince's clemency in favour of his people. Being come to the palace, and admitted into the emperor's presence, he no sooner perceived that prince, but he stopped at a distance with down-cast eyes, shedding tears, covering his face, and standing silent as though himself had been guilty. This is an artful exordium, and this silence is infinitely more eloquent than all the expressions he could use. And indeed St. Chrysostom observes, that, by this mournful and pathetic exterior, his design was to prepare the way for his oration, and to insinuate himself into the emperor's heart insensibly, in order that sentiments of lenity and compassion, which his cause required, might succeed to those of anger and vengeance.

The emperor, seeing him in this condition, did not employ any harsh reproaches, which Flavian might na-

[p] Homil. 20.

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turally expect. He did not say to him, What; are you come to crave pardon for rebels, for ungrateful wretches, for a people unworthy of life, and who merit the severest punishments? But, assuming a soft tone of voice, he made a long enumeration of all the good offices he had done for the city of Antioch; and, upon mentioning every one of those favours, he adds: Is this the acknowledgment I was to expect? What cause of complaint had its citizens against me? What injury had I done them? But why should they extend their insolence even to the dead? Had they received any wrong from them? What tenderness did I not shew for their city? Is it not notorious, that I loved it more than my own country, and that it gave me the greatest pleasure to think I should soon be in a condition of taking a journey to see it!

Then the holy Bishop, being unable to bear such moving reproaches any longer, says with deep sighs: It is true, Sir, the goodness you have vouchsafed us could not be carried higher; which enhances our crime, and our grief: whatever punishment you may inflict upon us, it will still fall short of what we deserve. Alas! our present condition is no common degree of punishment; to have the whole earth know our ingratitude!

If the barbarians had demolished our city, it would still have had a resource, and some hopes, whilst it had you for a protector. But to whom shall it now have recourse, since it has made itself unworthy of your protection?

The envy of the devil, jealous of her happiness, has plunged her into this abyss of evils, out of which you alone can extricate her. I dare say it, Sir, it is your very affection that has brought them upon us, by exciting the jealousy of that wicked spirit against us. But, like God himself, you may draw infinite good out of the evil which Satan intended against us.

Your clemency on this occasion will be more honourable to you than the most celebrated victories. Your statues have been thrown down. If you pardon this

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this crime, we will raise others in your honour, not of marble or brass, which time destroys, but such as will exist eternally in the hearts of all those who shall hear of this action.

He afterwards proposed the example of Constantine to him, who, being importuned by his courtiers to display his vengeance on some seditious people that had disfigured his statues by throwing stones at them, did nothing more than stroke his face with his hand, and told them smiling, that he did not feel himself hurt.

He sets before him his own clemency, and puts him in mind of one of his own laws, in which, after having ordered the prisons to be opened, and the criminals to be pardoned, at the feast of Easter, he added this memorable saying; *Would to God I were able in the same manner to open the graves, and restore the dead to life!* That time is come, Sir; you can now do it, &c.

He makes the honour of religion concerned in this affair. All the Jews and Heathens, says he, have their eyes upon you, and are waiting for the sentence you will pronounce. If it be favourable to us, they will be filled with admiration, and cry out, Surely the God of the Christians must be very powerful! He checks the anger of those who acknowledge no master upon earth, and can transform men into angels.

After he had answered the objection that might be made with regard to the unhappy consequences which were to be feared, if this crime should escape with impunity; and likewise demonstrated, that Theodosius, by such a rare example of clemency, might edify the whole earth, and instruct all future ages; he proceeds thus:

It will be infinitely glorious for you, Sir, to have granted this pardon at the request of a minister of the Lord; and mankind will see, that, without considering the unworthiness of the ambassador, you respected nothing in him but the power of the Master who sent him.

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For it is not only in the name of the inhabitants of Antioch, that I appear in this place; I am come from the sovereign Lord of men and angels, to declare to you, that if you pardon men their faults, the heavenly Father will pardon yours. Call to mind, great prince, that tremendous day, when you will appear before the King of Kings, to give an account of your actions. You are going to pronounce your own sentence. Other embassadors used to display magnificent presents before the princes to whom they were sent: as for me, I offer nothing to your majesty but the holy book of the gospels; and I dare exhort you to imitate your Master, who does good every day to those who insult him.

He at length concludes his discourse, by assuring the emperor, that if he refused that unfortunate city the pardon she sued for, he would never return to it, nor ever consider that city as his country, which the mildest prince upon earth looks upon with indignation, and could not prevail with himself to pardon.

Theodosius was not able to resist the force of this speech. He could scarce suppress his tears; and, dissembling the emotion he was in, as much as possible, he spoke these few words to the patriarch: If Jesus Christ, God as he is, was willing to pardon the men who crucified him, ought I to make any difficulty to pardon my subjects who have offended me; I who am but a mortal man like them, and a servant of the same Master! Upon this Flavian prostrated himself, wishing him all the prosperity he deserved for this noble action. And as that prelate expressed a desire of passing the feast of Easter at Constantinople: Go, father, says Theodosius, embracing him, and do not delay one moment the consolation which your people will receive by your return, and the assurances you will give of the pardon I grant them. I know they are still grieved and afraid. Go then, and carry the pardon of their crime for the feast of Easter. Pray that God may bless my arms, and be assured, that, after this war, I will go in person, and comfort the city of Antioch.

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The holy prelate set out immediately; and, to hasten the joy of the citizens, he dispatched a more expeditious courier than himself, who freed the city from its uneasiness and alarms.

I once more beg pardon for the length of this digression. I imagined, that the extract of this eloquent homily might be as useful to youth, as any passage in profane authors. There would be room for many reflections, especially on two characters, which, though seemingly incompatible, are united, however, in Flavian's oration; the humility and prostrate submission of a suppliant, with the magnificence and greatness of a Bishop, but which are so modified, that they mutually support each other. We at first behold the Bishop trembling, entreating, and, as it were, lying down at the Emperor's feet. But afterwards, towards the end of the discourse, he appears invested with all the splendor and majesty of the Lord, whose minister he is. He commands, he threatens, he intimidates; but still humble in his elevation. But I will content myself with the reflection which arises naturally from the subject that gave me occasion to relate this story. In my opinion, these two discourses of Flavian and Theodosius may be proposed as an excellent model in this species of mild and tender passions. I do not pretend thereby to exclude the strong and violent ones with which they are sometimes blended; but, if I am not mistaken, the former are predominant.

SECT. III.

OF THE ELOQUENCE OF THE BAR.

THE rules I have hitherto given upon Eloquence, being for the most part borrowed from Cicero and Quintilian, who applied themselves chiefly in forming orators for the Bar, might be sufficient for such young gentlemen as are designed for that honourable profession. I thought, however, that I was obliged to add some more particular reflections, which may

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may serve them as guides, to point out to them the paths they are to follow. I shall first examine what models must be proposed to form the style suitable to the Bar, and will afterwards speak of the means which youth may employ, to prepare themselves for pleading. And I shall conclude with collecting some of Quintilian's finest observations upon the manners and characters of pleaders.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE MODELS OF ELOQUENCE PROPER FOR THE BAR.

HAD we the harangues and pleadings of the great number of able orators, who for some years have made the French Bar so famous, and of those who still appear at it with so much lustre, we should be able to find in them certain rules and perfect models of Eloquence. But the few performances we have of this kind oblige us to have recourse to the source itself; and to search in Athens and Rome for those things which the modesty of our orators (perhaps excessive in this respect) does not permit us to find at home.

Demosthenes and Cicero, by the consent of all ages, and of all the learned, have been the most distinguished for the Eloquence of the Bar; and consequently their style may be proposed to youth as a model they may safely imitate. It would be necessary, for that purpose, to make them well acquainted with it, to be careful in observing the character, and to make them sensible of the differences in it; but this cannot be done without reading and examining their works. Those of Cicero are in every one's hands, and therefore well enough known. But it is not so with Demosthenes's orations; and in an age so learned and polite as ours, it must seem astonishing, that since Greece has been always considered as the first and most perfect school of Eloquence and good taste, we should be so careless, especially with regard to the Bar, in consulting

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consulting the great masters she has given us in that kind; and [q] that in case it was not thought necessary to bestow much time upon their excellent lessons, we should not, at least, have the curiosity to take but a cursory view of them; and hear them, as it were, at a distance, in order to examine ourselves, if it be true, that the eloquence of those famous orators is as admirable as it is declared to be; and if it fully answers the reputation they have acquired.

In order to enable young people, and those who have not studied Greek, to form some idea of Demosthenes's style, I shall here transcribe several passages from his orations, which indeed will not be sufficient to exhibit that great orator in the glorious light he ought to be shewn, nor perhaps to give models of his eloquence in all its kinds; but they will contribute at least to display some part of him, and his principal characteristics. I shall add to this, some passages from the harangue which Æschines, his competitor and rival, pronounced against him, and borrow M. Tourreil's translation; I mean the last, which is much more laboured, and more correct, than the former ones. I shall, however, sometimes take the liberty to make a few small alterations, because, on one hand, there are a great number of low and trivial [r] expressions in it, and on the other, the style is sometimes

[q] Ego idem existimavi pecudis esse, non hominis, cùm tantas res Græci susciperent, profiterentur, agerent . . . non admovere aurem, nec si palàm audire eos non auderes, ne minueres apud tuos cives auctoritatem tuam, subauscultando tamen excipere voces eorum, & procùl quid narrarent, attendere. 1. de Orat. n. 153.

[r] *Ce que nous demandons tous à cor & à cri. . . Le soin qu'ils ont de vous corner aux oreilles. . . . Si vous continuez à fainéanter. . . Vous vous comportez au rebours de tous les autres hommes. . . . Vous ne cessez de m'assassiner de clabaudéries éternelles. . . . Ils vous escamoteront les dix talens. . . Vous amuser de fariboles. . . Il se ménagea un prompt rapatriement. . . . Que si le cœur vous en dit, je vous cede la tribune. . . . Mais tout compté, tout rabattu. . . . Non, en dussiez vous crever à force de l'assurer faussement. . . Vous vomissez des charretées d'injures.* . . . I relate these few examples, from amongst many others, in order to caution those who may read this translation, in other respects a very valuable performance, not to impute to the Greek orator, these and such like defects of expression.

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too swelling and bombastic [s]; faults directly contrary to the character of Demosthenes, whose eloquence was at the same time very simple and very magnificent. M. de Maucroy has translated some of his orations. His version, though less correct in some passages, seems to be more agreeable to the genius of the Greek orator. I partly make use of it in the first extract I here give, which is taken from the first Philippic.

[s] I shall quote but one place, taken from the third Philippic. *De là il arrive, que dans vos assemblées, au bruit flatteur d'une adulation continuelle, vous vous endormez tranquillement entre les bras de la volupté: mais que dans les conjonctures & dans les événemens vous courez les derniers périls.* The original of the first part, which alone admits of any difficulty, runs thus: εἰθ' ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ κολατεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούοντας. Wolfius translates it in this manner: *Unde id consequimini, ut in concionibus fastidiatis, assentationibus deliniti, & omnia, quæ voluptati sunt, audiatis.* This is the true sense of the words, and is accordingly followed by M. Maucroy. *Vous vous rendez difficiles dans vos assemblées: vous voulez y être flattés, & qu'on ne vous tienne que des propos agréables. Cependant cette délicatesse vous a conduits sur le bord du précipice.* What has deceived M. Tourreil, is the word τρυφᾶν, which is commonly rendered by, *deliciis abundare, diffluere, in deliciis vivere.* Altho' it would bear this sense here, he ought not to have expressed it by these pompous terms: *vous vous endormez tranquillement entre les bras de la volupté:* which, joined to what goes before, *au bruit flatteur d'une adulation continuelle,* forms a style quite opposite to that of Demosthenes, whose manly nervous eloquence does not admit of such ornaments. Luxury and the love of pleasure were not then the character of the Athenians; and besides, what connection could they have with the public assemblies? It is much more natural, that the Athenians, puffed up by the continual encomiums their orators made them, of their great power, their superior merit, the exploits of their ancestors, and, long accustomed to such flatteries, did on one hand look big in their assemblies, and assume haughty and disdainful airs towards an enemy whom they despised; though on the other, they were arrived at that degree of delicacy, that they would not suffer their orators to tell them the truth. For I think that τρυφᾶν may admit of a twofold sense in this place.

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EXTRACTS FROM DEMOSTHENES AND ÆSCHINES.

FROM THE FIRST PHILIPPIC OF DEMOSTHENES.

M. Tourreil places this Harangue at the Head of the rest.

DEMOSTHENES, in this oration, animates the Athenians with hopes of better success hereafter in the war against Philip, in case they will follow his example, by applying themselves seriously to the management of their affairs.

" If you resolve, says he, to imitate Philip, which " you have not done hitherto; if every one will act " with sincerity for the public good; the wealthy by " contributing part of their estates, and the young " men by their swords; in a word, if you will de- " pend on yourselves only, and suppress that indolent " disposition which ties up your hands, in expectation " of some foreign succours; you then will soon, by " the assistance of the gods, retrieve your losses, and " atone for your faults, and will be revenged of your " enemies. For, do not think, Athenians, that Phi- " lip is a god, who enjoys immutable felicity. He " is dreaded, hated, and envied, by those who are " best affected to his interest; and indeed, we must " presume they have like passions with the rest of " mankind. But all these sentiments seem at present " extinguished, and that because your slow and indo- " lent conduct gives them no opportunity of exert- " ing themselves; and it is to this you must apply a " remedy.

" For observe, my countrymen, the low condition " to which you are reduced, and to what a height " this man's insolence is risen. He will not allow " you the liberty of determining for peace or war. " He threatens you; he speaks, as it is said, with an " arrogant and haughty tone: he is not satisfied with " his

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" his former conquests, but is every day acquiring " more; and whilst you are dilatory and unactive, he " surrounds and invests you on all sides.

" When, Athenians, when will you act as you " ought to do? What event do you wait for? What " necessity must compel you to it? Alas! is there " not necessity sufficient at this very time? For, in " my opinion, none is more urgent to a free people, " than, when they are surrounded with shame and ig- " nominy. Will you for ever do nothing but walk up " and down the city asking one another, what news? " What news! Is there any thing more new, than to " see a man of Macedonia become master of the " Athenians, and give laws to all Greece? Is Philip " dead? says one. No, replies another, he is only " sick. Whether he be sick or dead, what is that to " the purpose; since, were he no more, you would " soon raise up another Philip by your bad conduct; " for his grandeur is much more owing to your indo- " lence, than to his own valour."

EXTRACT FROM THE SECOND OLYNTHIAN.

It is generally ranked the Third.

Demosthenes compares the present condition of the Athenians to the glory of their ancestors.

" Our ancestors, who were neither flattered by their " orators, nor loved by them, as you are by yours, " governed Greece during sixty-five years, with the " unanimous consent of the whole nation, put above " ten thousand talents into the public treasury; ex- " ercised such a power over the king of Macedon, as " becomes the Greeks to exercise over a barbarian; " raised great numbers of magnificent trophies for " the victories they had gained in person, both by " sea and land; they only, of the whole race of men, " transmitted to their posterity, by their great ex- " ploits, a glory superior to envy itself. Such were " these personages at that time, with regard to Greece.

" Let

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" Let us now examine their public and private life in " those days. Their magistrates erected many noble " edifices for our use, and adorned our temples with " such a number of rich ornaments, that none will " be able to surpass them hereafter in magnificence. " As to their private behaviour, they were so tempe- " rate, and adhered so strictly to our ancient sim- " plicity of manners, that, if any of you happens " to know the houses inhabited once by Aristides, " Miltiades, or any other of their illustrious cotem- " poraries, he does not see them distinguished by " their splendour from the others in their neighbour- " hood. For, in the management of public affairs, " they thought themselves obliged to aggrandize the " state, and not their families. By this means they " arrived at the meridian of felicity, and that deser- " vedly, by faithfully consulting the common good of " Greece, an exemplary piety towards the gods, and " living with their fellow-citizens in a modest equality. " Such was the condition of your forefathers, under " such worthy leaders; but what is yours at this time, " under these soft-tongued orators who govern you? " Does it bear the least resemblance to it? I will not " insist upon the parallel, though the subject opens " a large field ———

" But some will answer me, and say, Though things " don't go on well abroad, they are in a much better " condition at home. But what proofs can be " brought of this? Why, some battlements have been " whitened, some highways repaired, and some aque- " ducts built; with such like trifles. Cast your eyes, " I beseech you, upon those men, to whom you owe " these rare monuments of their administration. " Some of them were raised from poverty to aflu- " ence, others from obscurity to splendour; some again " have built private houses so magnificent, that they " seem to insult even the public edifices; and the " lower the fortune of the state has sunk, the higher " has that of such people risen. To what then must " we impute this entire subversion of things in our " days;

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" days: and why is that wonderful order, which was " formerly seen in all things, now changed for con- " fusion? The reason is this: first, because the peo- " ple, at that time, having valour equal to military " employments, kept the magistrates dependent on " them, and had the entire disposal of all offices and " favours; and every citizen thought it a merit to " receive honours, employments, or good offices, " from the people. But now it is quite otherwise; " for the magistrates confer all favours, and exercise " a despotic power; while you, unhappy people, " enervated and despoiled both of treasure and alli- " ances, are merely but as so many lacqueys, and in " a manner only a more numerous mob; and think " yourselves doubly happy, if your magistrates do " but indulge you the two oboli for the theatre, and " the mean entertainment they provide for you upon " rejoicing days. And, to complete your baseness, " you lavish the title of benefactors upon those who " give you nothing but what is your own; and who, " after imprisoning you, as it were, within your own " walls, lay baits for, and soften you in this manner, " with no other view but to prepare you for slavery."

EXTRACT OF THE HARANGUE CONCERNING THE CHERSONESUS.

The pensioners which Philip kept at Athens were perpetually endeavouring to find out expedients for disposing the people to peace; but Demosthenes discovers their treachery and artifices.

" [*t*] I shall only observe, that, as soon as this " discourse against Philip was begun, one of those " mercenaries rose up and cried out, *What a blessed* " *thing is peace! how difficult to support great armies!* " *Our treasury is in danger:* and they amuse you " with such discourses, by which they cool your zeal, " and give Philip an opportunity of effecting his pur- " poses without difficulty. . . . But it is not you who

[*t*] Towards the end of the harangue.

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" need to be persuaded to peace; you, I say, who, " being already but too much influenced that way, " loiter here in indolence; it is that man who breathes " nothing but war. . . Besides, we ought not to con- " sider what is employed for our safety as a hardship, " but that which we shall suffer in case we neglect to " secure ourselves in time. As to the squandering " of the public monies, this must be remedied by " proposing the best means of preventing it for the " future, and not by persuading you to abandon en- " tirely your own interest.

" As to myself, Athenians, I am filled with indig- " nation to see some of you make such a noise about " squandering the public funds (which may be recti- " fied by punishing the offenders in an exemplary " manner,) because their private interest suffers by it; " and not say one word, at the same time, of Philip, " who plunders all Greece successively, and that to " your prejudice. Whence can it proceed, my coun- " trymen, that, while Philip is displaying his banners " in the face of the whole world, committing vio- " lences, and seizing fortresses; none of these people " has ever thought fit to say, that man acts unjustly, " and commits hostilities? And that, when you are " advised not to suffer such outrages, but to put a stop " to them, these very people cry out immediately, " that you are going to kindle the flames of a war " which were extinguished!

" What! shall we say again, that to advise you to " defend yourselves, is kindling a war? If that be " the case, then there is nothing but slavery for you. " For there is no other medium, if we neglect on the " one hand to repel violence; and, on the other, the " enemy will not grant us a truce. Our danger too " differs very much from that of the other Greeks; " for Philip will not be barely satisfied with enslaving " Athens, he will destroy it; for he knows very well " you will never submit to slavery; and that, tho' " you would do this, you never could, for command " and authority are habitual to you; and besides,

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" you will be capable of giving him more trouble and " opposition than all the rest of the Greeks united, " whenever you shall think fit to lay hold of any oc- " casion to throw off the yoke. It must then be laid " down as a certain maxim, that our whole fortune is " at stake, and that you cannot too much abhor the " mercenaries who have sold themselves to this man ; " for it is not possible, no, it is not, to vanquish your " foreign enemies, till you have chastised your domes- " tic foes, who are his pensioners; so that, whilst you " will bulge against those as against so many rocks, " you will never attempt to act against the other, till " it be too late."

FROM THE THIRD PHILIPPIC.

" Make this reflection, I beseech you; you think " the privilege of saying any thing is so inherent in " every man who breathes the air of Athens, that you " suffer foreigners and slaves to deliver their thoughts " on every subject; insomuch that servants are here " indulged a greater liberty in that particular, than " citizens in some other commonwealths. It is from " the *rostra* only, that the freedom of speech is de- " nied. Hence it is that you are grown so unaccount- " ably haughty in your assemblies, and so difficult to " be pleased. You would always be flattered in them, " and hear nothing but what soothes you: and it is " this pride and delicacy that have brought you to the " brink of destruction. If then you remain still in " the same disposition, I have nothing to do but to be " silent. But, if you can prevail with yourselves to " listen to what is for your advantage, without flat- " tery, I am ready to speak. For, notwithstanding " the deplorable condition of our affairs, and the seve- " ral losses we have sustained thro' our neglect, they " may yet be retrieved, provided you determine to " act as you ought in duty.

" You know, that whatever the Greeks suffered " from the Lacedæmonians, or from us, they suffered " by

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" by those who were Greeks as well as themselves;
" so that we may compare our faults to those of a son,
" who, being born in a rich family, should err against
" some maxim of good œconomy. Such a son would
" justly deserve the reproachful name of a squanderer;
" but it could not be justly asserted, that he had seized
" upon another man's right, or that he was not the
" lawful heir. But if a slave, or a supposititious child,
" would seize an estate he had no manner of title to,
" just heavens! would not such an enormity raise the
" whole world against him? and would they not cry
" out with one voice, that it deserved exemplary pu-
" nishment? But we do not consider Philip, and his
" present conduct, in that light. Philip, who, be-
" sides his not being a Greek, is no ways allied to
" the Greeks by any kind of relation, and is not dis-
" tinguished even amongst the barbarians by any
" thing but his being denominated from the contemp-
" tible place whence he comes; and being a wretched
" Macedonian by his birth, came into the world in a
" corner whence we never buy even a good slave.
" Notwithstanding this, does he not treat you with
" the utmost indignity? Is it not arrived at its high-
" est pitch? Not content," &c.

The *Extracts* which follow, being taken from the orations of Æschines and Demosthenes *de Coronâ*, it will be necessary to give the reader some idea of the subject. This Cicero informs us of in his preamble to those two orations, when he translated them; and this is the only fragment now remaining of that excellent work.

Demosthenes was entrusted with the care of repairing the walls of Athens, which he accomplished with great honour and reputation, having contributed a great deal of his own fortune towards it. Ctesiphon decreed a crown of gold to him on that account; proposed it should be presented in the open theatre, in a general assembly of the people; and that the herald should proclaim it was to reward the zeal and probity of that orator. Æschines accused Ctesiphon, as having

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ing violated the laws by that decree ——— "[u] So "extraordinary a contest raised the curiosity of all "Greece: people ran from all parts, and with rea- "son too. What finer sight than to see two orators "contending, each excelling in his own way; form- "ed by nature, made perfect by art, and besides "animated with a personal enmity to each other."

EXTRACTS OF ÆSCHINES'S HARANGUE.

Æschines, after having represented, in the beginning of the exordium, the irregularities introduced in the commonwealth, and their pernicious tendency, proceeds thus.

"In such a situation of affairs, and in such disor- "ders, of which you yourselves are sensible; the "only method of saving the wrecks of the govern- "ment, is, if I mistake not, to allow full liberty to "accuse those who have invaded your laws. But, if "you shut them up, or suffer others to do this, I pro- "phesy that you will fall insensibly, and that very "soon, under a tyrannical power. For you know, "Athenians, that government is divided into three "kinds; Monarchy, Oligarchy, and Democracy. "As to the two former, they are governed at the "will and pleasure of those who reign in either; "whereas established laws only reign in a popular "state. That none of you therefore may be igno- "rant, but, on the contrary, that every one may be "entirely assured, that the day he ascends the seat of "justice, to examine an accusation upon the invasion "of the laws, that very day he goes to give judg- "ment upon his own independence.... And indeed, "the legislature, who is convinced, that a free state "can support itself no longer than the laws govern, "takes particular care to prescribe this form of an "oath to judges, *I will judge according to the laws.*

[u] Ad hoc judicium concursus dicitur è totâ Greciâ factus esse. Quid enim aut tam visendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum, in gravissimâ causâ, accurata & inimicitiis incensa contentio? Cic. de opt. gen. Orat. n. 22.

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"The remembrance therefore of this, being deeply "implanted in your minds, must inspire you with a "just abhorrence of any persons whatsoever, who "dare transgress them by rash decrees; and that, far "from ever looking upon a transgression of this kind "as a small fault, you always consider it as an enor- "mous and capital crime. . . Do not suffer then, any "one to make you depart from so wise a principle. "... But as, in the army, every one of you would be "ashamed to quit the post assigned him by the ge- "neral; so let every one of you be this day ashamed "to abandon the post which the laws have given you "in the commonwealth. What post? that of pro- "tectors of the government."

This comparison, which is very beautiful and noble in itself, has a peculiar grace in this place, presenting, as it were, two faces to us; for at the same time that it affects the judges, it reflects strongly on Demosthenes's cowardice, against whom it points a satirical stroke, which is the more delicate and malicious, the more remote it seems to be from all affectation. It is well known, that he had abandoned his post and fled at the battle of Chæronea. This judicious observation was made by M. Tourreil.

"Must we, in your person (addressing himself to "Demosthenes) crown the author of the public cala- "mities, or must we destroy him? And indeed, what "unexpected revolutions, what unthought-of catas- "trophes, have we not seen in our days?—The king "of Persia, that king who opened a passage through "mount Athos; who bound the Hellespont in chains; "who was so imperious as to command the Greeks "to acknowledge him sovereign both of sea and "land; who in his letters and dispatches presumed "to style himself the sovereign of the world from the "rising to the setting of the sun; and who fights "now, not to rule over the rest of mankind, but to "save his own life; do we not see those very men, "who signalized their zeal in the relief of Delphos, "invested both with the glory, for which that power-

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" ful king was once so conspicuous, and with the " title of chief of the Greeks, against him? As to " Thebes, which borders upon Attica, have we not " seen it disappear in one day from the midst of " Greece? ... And, with regard to the unhappy " Lacedæmonians, what calamities have not befallen " them only for taking but a small part of the spoils " of the temple? They who formerly assumed a su- " periority over Greece, are they not now going to " send ambassadors to Alexander's court, to bear the " name of hostages in his train; to become a specta- " cle of misery; to bow the knee before the monarch, " submit themselves and their country to his mercy; " and receive such laws as a conqueror, a conqueror " they attacked first, shall think fit to prescribe them? " Athens itself, the common refuge of the Greeks; " Athens formerly peopled with ambassadors, who " flocked to claim its mighty protection; is not this " city now obliged to fight, not to obtain a superio- " rity over the Greeks, but to preserve itself from de- " struction? Such are the misfortunes which Demos- " thenes has brought upon us, since his intermeddling " with the administration.—

" But you, who of all men are the most unfit to " signalize yourselves by great and memorable actions, " and at the same time the fittest to distinguish your- " selves by rash speeches; dare you, and that in the " presence of this august assembly, assert, that we must " bestow a crown, at your intercession, on the person " who has occasioned all the public calamities? And " if this man shall presume so far, will you suffer it, " gentlemen, and shall the memory of those great " men who died in the field for their country, die " with them? I beg you, for a few moments, to con- " vey yourselves in imagination from the *rostrum* to " the theatre, and imagine you see the herald ad- " vancing, and proclaiming the crown decreed to " Demosthenes. On which occasion do you think, " that the relations of those citizens, who spilt their " blood for you, ought to shed most tears; either for

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" the tragical fate of those heroes, which I shall re-
" present to you by-and-by, or for the enormous in-
" gratitude of the Athenians? Do not lay open again
" the deep and incurable wounds of the unhappy
" Thebans, who through Demosthenes are become
" fugitives, and have been received by you into this
" city. But since you were not present at their ca-
" tastrophe, endeavour, at least, to form some image
" of it, and represent to yourselves a city taken, walls
" levelled, houses reduced to ashes, mothers and
" children dragged into slavery, old men and women
" forced to be servants at the end of their days,
" drowned in tears, imploring your justice, breaking
" out into reproaches, not against the actors, but
" against the authors of the cruel vengeance, which
" they felt; earnestly pressing you to be so far from
" conferring any kind of reward upon the destroyer
" of Greece, that you would preserve yourselves
" from the curse, the fatality, inseparable from his
" person.

" Imagine then, Athenians, when he shall invite
" the confidants and accomplices of his abject perfidy
" to range themselves around him towards the close of
" his harangue, imagine then, on your side, that you
" see the ancient benefactors of this commonwealth
" drawn up in battle-array, round this *rostrum* where
" I am now speaking, in order to repulse that auda-
" cious band. Imagine you hear Solon, who strength-
" ened the popular government by such excellent
" laws, that philosopher, that incomparable legisla-
" tor, conjuring you with a gentleness and modesty
" becoming his character, not to set a higher value
" upon Demosthenes's oratorial flourishes, than upon
" your oaths and your laws. Imagine you hear Aris-
" tides, who made so exact and just a division of the
" contributions imposed upon the Greeks for the
" common cause; that sage dispenser, who left no
" other inheritance to his daughters but the public
" gratitude, which was their portion; imagine, I
" say, you hear him bitterly bewailing the outrageous

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"manner in which we trample upon justice, and "speaking to you in these words: What! because "when Arthmius of Zelia, that Asiatic, who passed "through Athens, where he even enjoyed the rights "of hospitality, brought gold from the Medes into "Greece, your ancestors were going to send him to "the place of execution, and banished him, not only "from their city, but from all the countries depen- "dent on them; and will not you blush to decree "Demosthenes, who has not indeed brought gold "from the Medes, but has received such sums of "money from all parts to betray you, and now en- "joys the fruit of his treasures; will not you, I say, "blush to decree a crown of gold to Demosthenes? "Do you think that Themistocles, and the heroes "who were killed in the battles of Marathon and "Platæa, do you think the very tombs of your an- "cestors will not send forth groans, if you crown a "man, who, by his own confession, has been for ever "conspiring with barbarians to ruin Greece?

"As to myself, O earth! O sun! O virtue! and "you, who are the springs of true discernment, lights "both natural and acquired, by which we distinguish "good from evil, I call you to witness, that I have "used all my endeavours to relieve the state, and to "plead her cause. I could have wished my speech "had been equal to the greatness and importance of "the subject; at least, I can flatter myself with hav- "ing discharged my duty according to my abilities, "if I have not done it according to my wishes. Do "you, gentlemen, from the reasons you have heard, "and those which your wisdom will suggest; do you "pronounce such a judgment as is conformable to strict "justice, and the common good demands from you."

EXTRACTS OF DEMOSTHENES'S HARANGUE FOR CTESIPHON.

"I begin with intreating all the gods and all the "goddesses, that they would inspire you, Athenians, "in

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" in this cause, with a benevolence towards me, pro-
" portionate to my constant zeal for the common-
" wealth in general, and for every one of you in par-
" ticular: afterwards (which is of the utmost conse-
" quence to your persons, your consciences, and your
" honour) I crave of the same deities, that they would
" fix you in the resolution of consulting upon the
" manner of hearing me, not my accuser, (for you
" could not do that without partiality) but your laws
" and your oaths, the form of which, among other
" terms, (all dictated by justice,) is as follows: *Hear*
" *both parties equally;* which obliges you to come
" with an unbiassed mind and heart to the tribunal,
" and to allow each of the parties to draw up his
" reasons and proofs in whatever manner he shall
" think fit [x].

" Now, my countrymen, among the many disad-
" vantages on my side in this cause, there are two
" particularly, and two very terrible ones, which
" make my condition much worse than his. The first
" is, that we run very unequal risks; for now I
" hazard much more in losing your good will, than
" he does, should he fail to make good the charge;
" since I am to . . . But I will not suffer one word to
" fall from me in the beginning of my discourse, that
" presages any thing sinister. He, on the contrary,
" attacks me through wantonness, and without any
" necessity for so doing. The other disadvantage I
" lie under, is, that all men are naturally inclinable
" to hear an accuser with pleasure; while, on the
" other hand, they hear those who boast or magnify
" themselves, with indignation. He therefore acts
" a part that pleases universally; whereas almost eve-
" ry thing which falls to my lot, is what generally
" makes every man an enemy. But if, on one hand,
" the fear of incurring indignation, which is insepa-
" rable from self-applause, should oblige me to be
" silent on my own actions; it will be thought that I

[x] Æschines pretended to point out the order which Demosthenes was to observe in his pleading.

" can

" can neither refute him who reproaches me with " crimes, nor justify the person who decrees rewards " for me. On the other, if I should discuss the ser- " vices I have done during my administration, I " shall be forced to speak of myself frequently. I " shall therefore endeavour, in this dangerous dilem- " ma, to behave with all possible moderation; but " whatever the necessity of my own defence may ex- " tort from me, this ought in justice to be imputed " only to the aggressor, who voluntarily imposed it " upon me.

" But in spite of those facts, incontestible, and cer- " tified, as it were, by the mouth of truth itself, " Æschines has so far renounced all shame, that, not " content to proclaim me the author of such a peace " as he has mentioned, he is so audacious as to tax " me likewise with preventing the commonwealth " from concerting it with the general assembly of the " Greeks. . . . But did you, O! . . . (what title shall " I give you?) did you betray the least shadow of " displeasure against me, when I broke the cords of " that harmony in your presence, and dispossessed the " commonwealth of the advantages of that confede- " racy, which you now magnify so much, with the " loudest strains of your theatrical voice [*y*]? Did " you ascend the *rostrum?* Did you denounce, or once " explain, these crimes, with which you are now " pleased to charge me? Surely then, if I could have " forgot my duty so far as to sell myself to Philip, in " order to exclude the Greeks from participating in " that peace, you ought then to have exclaimed, " protested, and discovered my prevarications to " those who now hear me; but you never did any " thing of this kind, nor did any person living hear " you say one syllable tending this way. . . .

" But if Philip was constantly depriving all states, " without exception, of their honour, prerogatives, " liberty, or rather subverting as many common- " wealths as he could; did not you, Athenians, form

[*y*] Æschines had been a comedian.

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" those very arguments, which undoubtedly were the
" most glorious to you, through your regard for my
" advice! Tell us, Æschines, how Athens should
" have behaved in Philip's sight, when he set all en-
" gines at work, to establish his empire and tyranny
" over the Greeks? Or what counsels and resolutions
" should I, who was the minister, have proposed, es-
" pecially in Athens (for the circumstances of place
" require a particular attention) I, who was intimately
" sensible, that my country had at all times, even till
" the day I first ascended the tribunal, perpetually
" fought for superiority, for honour and glory; and
" that it alone had, through a noble emulation, sacri-
" ficed more men and money for the general good of
" the Greeks, than any other of the Grecian states
" had ever sacrificed for their own private advantage?
" I, who besides saw this same Philip, with whom we
" contended for sovereignty and empire; saw him,
" though covered with wounds, his eye beat out, his
" collar bone broken, his hand and leg maimed, still
" resolved to plunge himself amidst dangers, and
" ready to give up to fortune whatever other part of
" his body she should require, provided he could live
" honourably and gloriously with the remainder?
" Now, certainly no man dares to say, that a barba-
" rian, educated in Pella (then a contemptible and
" obscure place) could possibly possess a soul haughty
" enough to desire and undertake the conquest of
" the Greeks; but for you, though Athenians, for
" you, who every day hear the virtue of your ances-
" tors displayed either by your orators in the *rostrum*,
" or by your actors upon the stage; for you, I say,
" to carry meanness of soul and cowardice so far, as
" to abandon and make a voluntary surrender of the
" liberties of Greece to Philip; no man living will
" ever be so audacious as to make such a strange
" proposal.

" Censure me, Æschines, for the advice I gave;
" do not asperse me for the event: for the Supreme
" Being unravels and terminates every thing at plea-
" sure;

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" sure; whereas we must judge from the nature of " the advice or the opinions themselves, of him who " gives them. If therefore Philip has been a con- " querer, do not impute it to me as a crime since " God disposed of the victory, and not I. But shew " me what it is that I did not pursue with an integrity, " a vigilance, and an indefatigable activity, superior " to my strength; shew me that I did not practise all " the expedients which human prudence could em- " ploy; that I did not inspire noble and necessary re- " solutions, and such as were worthy of Athens; and " after this give a full scope to your accusations. " But if a sudden thunderbolt, or a tempest, should " strike you to the ground, Athenians, and not only " you, but all the rest of the Grecians, how can this " be helped? Must the innocent be sacrificed? If the " owner of a vessel had fitted it out with every thing " necessary, and provided to the utmost of his power " against the dangers of the sea; and that a storm " should afterwards arise, and break the masts; would " any one in that case accuse him with being the cause " of the shipwreck? But he would say, I did not com- " mand the vessel. Nor did I command the army: " I did not dispose of fortune; on the contrary, it " was fortune disposed of every thing.

" Since therefore he insists so strenuously upon " events, I am not afraid of advancing a kind of pa- " radox. Let none of us, in the name of Jupiter " and the other gods, be startled at the apparent hy- " perbole; but let him examine equitably what I am " going to say: for if all the Athenians had disco- " vered future events by a prophetic spirit; that all " had foreseen them; and that you, Æschines, who " did not speak a single word, had foretold and cer- " tified them with your thunder-like voice; Athens, " even in that case, ought not to have changed its " measures, had it ever so little regard to its glory, " its ancestors, or the judgment of posterity. For " now Athens seems, at most, to be fallen from its " greatness; a misfortune common to all mortals,

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" whenever it so pleases the Supreme Being. But a " commonwealth, that thought itself at that time " worthy of a superiority over all the rest of the Greeks, " could not part with such a right, without incurring " the just reproach of delivering them all up to Philip: " since in case Athens had quitted, without a blow, " a prerogative which our ancestors had purchased at " all hazards, how would you, Æschines, have been " covered with shame? For most certainly, that shame " could not have reflected either upon the common- " wealth, or upon me. Great God! with what eyes " could we look upon this innumerable multitude " which come from all parts to Athens, if things had " been brought to the low ebb we now see them at, " by our fault, or wrong management; had we chosen " Philip as the chief and arbiter of all Greece; had " we suffered others to hazard a battle without us, in " order to prevent such a calamity; especially since " we call ourselves inhabitants of a city, which chose " at all times rather to brave glorious dangers, than " enjoy an ignominious security! For what Greek, " what barbarian, does not know, that the Thebans, " and before them the Lacedæmonians, when arrived " at the meridian of power, and, lastly, the Persian " king, would have willingly granted the common- " wealth, not only the enjoyment of its own posses- " sions, but likewise every thing it could desire, pro- " vided it could have descended to submit, and suffer " any other to govern Greece? But such sentiments " could not be admitted by Athenians (as appeared " on those occasions,) either as hereditary, supporta- " ble, or natural. And, since the first foundation " of Athens, none could ever force it to make an ab- " ject submission to tyrannical power, though superior " in strength; nor to gain a base security by servile " concessions. On the contrary, as Athens was in " immemorial possession of fighting for sovereignty, " for honour, and for glory; so it has at all times " braved the greatest dangers... If therefore I should " attempt to insinuate, that my counsels determined

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" you to think like worthy descendents of your pre-
" decessors, every one might tax me justly with arro-
" gance. But I declare in this place, that if you
" formed such resolutions, the glory of them is yours;
" and I own, that the commonwealth had great and
" magnanimous sentiments long before my time. The
" only thing I can boast of, is, that I co-operated in
" every thing that fell to my share in the ministry.

" By the way, my countrymen, a citizen naturally
" virtuous (for when I speak of myself, I make use
" of no other word, to avoid envy) possesses these
" two qualities: a steady and unshaken courage in the
" exercise of authority, to support the commonwealth
" in its superiority; and a zeal that has been proof
" against every thing, in every conjuncture, and par-
" ticular action. For these sentiments depend [z]
" upon us, being the gift of nature; but, as to force
" and power, those we derive from other causes.
" Now certainly, that this zeal was never falsified in
" me, judge of it by my actions. My zeal for you
" was never lessened on any occasion, no, not when
" my head was demanded; nor when I was delivered
" up to the Amphictyons; nor when the greatest
" efforts were made to shake me with threats; nor
" when endeavours were used to allure me with pro-
" mises; nor when these cursed wretches, like so
" many wild beasts, were let loose upon me. As to
" the government, no sooner had I a share in it, than
" I followed the direct and just methods of preserv-
" ing the strength, glory, and prerogatives of my
" country; augmenting them, and devoting myself
" entirely to that study. Thus, when I find other
" powers prosper, I am never seen walking in the
" *forum*, with a serene and contented aspect, saluting
" people with my hand, and telling good news with
" a congratulating voice to those, who, I believe,
" will afterwards send it to Macedonia; nor am I seen
" trembling, sighing, and with down-cast eyes, upon
" hearing the success of the Athenians, like those

[z] That was the doctrine of the Stoics.

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" impious wretches who defame the commonwealth ; " as though they did not defame themselves by such " courses. They have always their eye abroad, and " when they see any potentate taking advantage of " our misfortunes, they magnify his successes, and " give out, that all endeavours should be used to " eternize his victories.

" Immortal gods ! let none of you hear such vows " as these ; but rather rectify the minds and hearts of " such perverse men. But if their inveterate malice " be incurable, pursue them both by sea and land, " and extirpate them totally. As to us, Athenians, " avert, as soon as possible, the calamities which " threaten us, and grant us entire security."

The Success of the two Orations.

Æschines lost his cause, and was banished for his rash accusation. He settled at Rhodes, and set up a school of eloquence, which maintained its glory for several ages. He began his lectures with the two orations which occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to his ; but when that of Demosthenes was read, the acclamations were redoubled. [*a*] And it was upon this occasion he said (so laudable in an enemy and a rival) *But how wonderful would you have found it, had you heard it from his own mouth ?*

I did not pretend, that the passages I have now borrowed from the harangues of Æschines and Demosthenes, could alone give a just idea of those two great orators; for the most essential part of Eloquence, and, as it were, the soul of it, must necessarily be wanting in extracts taken from the body of an entire work. We neither see plan, design, order, or series of the oration, in those extracts ; nor the strength, connexion, or disposition of the proofs ; the marvellous art by which the orator sometimes insinuates himself gently into people's hearts; and sometimes enters with a kind of violence, and makes himself absolute master over

[*a*] Valer. Max. lib. 8. c. 10.

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them. Besides, no translation can give the Attic purity, Eloquence and delicacy, of which the Greek language only is susceptible, and which Demosthenes had carried to the highest perfection. I had no other view in copying these extracts, but to enable such readers as have not studied Greek, to form some idea of the style of those two orators. The advantageous judgments which the best writers in all ages have given us of it, will likewise contribute to shew their character, and may perhaps inspire us with the desire of taking a nearer view of persons of such uncommon merit, of whom so many wonders are related. M. de Tourreil has collected several, some of which I shall relate in this place.

I. THE JUDGMENTS OF THE ANCIENTS ON ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES.

[*b*] Quintilian, whose opinion is no less clear than equitable, speaks of them in this manner: "[*c*] A "croud of orators arose afterwards, of whom De- "mosthenes was the chief; the standard which every "one must [*d*] necessarily follow who aspires to true "Eloquence. His style is so strong, so close, and "[*e*] nervous, 'tis every where so just, so exactly "concise, that there's nothing too much or too little. "Æschines is more diffusive; he makes a greater fi- "gure, because he is not so close; he discovers a "greater flush of health, but his sinews are not so "strong and well compacted.

[*b*] Valer. Max. lib. 10. c. 10.

[*c*] Sequitur oratorum ingens manus. . . . quorum longe princeps Demosthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit. Tanta vis in eo, tam densa omnia, ita quibusdam nervis intenta sunt, tam nihil otiosum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quod desit in eo, nec quod redundet, invenias. Plenior Æschines, & magis fusus, & grandiori similis, quo minùs strictus est. Carnis tamen plus habet, lacertorum minus.

[*d*] Quintilian did not venture to say absolutely, that Demosthenes's orations were the standard of Eloquence; he has softened the reflection, *penè lex orandi fuit.*

[*e*] Tam densa omnia, ita quibusdam nervis intenta sunt. *Il est si serré, si nerveux.* I do not know whether this metaphor is borrowed from the nerves of the body, or from a bow, the string of which being strongly stretched *(nervi)* pushes the arrow forward with a prodigious force and impetuosity.

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" [*f*] What distinguishes the Eloquence of De-
" mosthenes, is the impetuosity of the expression, the
" choice of words, and the beauty of the disposition;
" which being supported throughout, and accompa-
" nied with force and sweetness, keeps the attention
" of the auditors perpetually fixed. Æschines in-
" deed is less energetic; but he distinguishes himself
" by his diction, which he sometimes adorns with the
" most noble and magnificent figures; and sometimes
" seasons with the most lively and strong touches.
" We do not discover any art or labour in them; a
" happy facility, which nature only can bestow, runs
" through the whole. He is bright and solid; he en-
" larges and amplifies, but is often close; so that his
" style, which at first seems only flowing and sweet,
" discovers itself, upon a nearer view, to be vehement
" and emphatic, in which Demosthenes only sur-
" passes him; so that Æschines justly claims the se-
" cond place among orators.

" [*g*] I remember, says Cicero, that I preferred
" Demosthenes to all other orators. He is adequate
" to the idea I had formed to myself of Eloquence;
" he attained to that degree of perfection which I
" conceive in thought, but find no where, except in
" him alone. Never had any orator more greatness
" and strength, more art and cunning; nor more pru-
" dence and moderation in his ornaments. He ex-
" cels in every kind of Eloquence. . . . [*h*] He pos-
" sesses all the qualifications necessary for forming
" the orator. He is perfect. Whatever penetration,

[*f*] Dion. Halicarn. in his book called τῶν ἀρχαίων κρίτης, c. 5.

[*g*] Recordor me longè omnibus unum anteferre Demosthenem, qui vim accommodarit ad eam quam sentiam eloquentiam, non ad eam quam in aliquo ipse cognoverim. Hoc nec gravior extitit quisquam, nec callidior, nec temperatior. . . . Unus eminet inter omnes in omni genere dicendi. Orat. n. 23. & 104.

[*h*] Planè quidem perfectum, & cui nihil admodum desit, Demosthenem facilè dixeris. Nihil acutè inveniri potuit in eis causis quas scripsit, nihil (ut ita dicam) subdolè, nihil versutè, quod ille non viderit; nihil subtiliter dici, nihil pressè, nihil enucleatè, quo fieri possit aliquid limatius: nihil contrà grande, nihil incitatum, nihil ornatum vel verborum gravitate, vel sententiarum, quo quidquam esset elatius, &c. Brut. n. 35.

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" whatever refinement, whatever artifice, as it were, " and cunning, can suggest on any subject, these he " finds and employs with a justness, a brevity, and " clearness, which give us a satisfaction, to which no- " thing can add. Are elevation, greatness, and vehe- " mence, necessary? He surpasses all others in the " sublimity of his thoughts, and the magnificence of " his expressions. He is incontestably the first; none " equals him. Hyperides, Æschines, Lycurgus, Di- " narchus, Demades, have no other merit but that of " coming nearest to him.

" [*i*] That harangue (says Cicero in another place, " speaking of Ctesiphon's defence) answers so effectu- " ally to the idea I have formed of perfect Eloquence, " that we can wish nothing more finished."

Before I proceed to the character of Cicero's Eloquence, I think myself obliged to add here some reflexions upon that of Demosthenes.

It would, in my opinion, be renouncing of good sense and sound reason, to call in question the superior merit of the Greek orator, after the incredible success he had in his time, and the noble encomiums which the best judges have been, in a manner, contending to bestow upon him.

He spoke [*k*] before the most polite people that ever lived, and the most delicate and difficult to be pleased, in point of Eloquence; a people so well acquainted with the beauties and graces of speech, and the purity of diction, that their orators durst not venture to use any doubtful or uncommon expression, or any which might be the least offensive to such nice and refined ears. Besides, he lived in an age when the taste of the beautiful, the true, and the simple, was

[*i*] Ea profectò oratio in eam formam, quæ est insita in mentibus nostris, includi sic potest, ut major eloquentia non quæratur. Orat. n. 133.

[*k*] Atheniensium semper fuit prudens sincerumque judicium, nihil ut possent nisi incorruptum audire & elegans. Eorum religioni cùm serviret orator, nullum verbum insolens, nullum odiosum ponere audebat. . . Ad Atticorum aures teretes & religiosas qui se accommodant, ii sunt existimandi Atticè dicere, Orat. n. 25, & 27.

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in its utmost perfection. [*l*] Thrice happy age! which gave birth to a multitude of orators at the same time, every one of whom might have been looked upon as a complete model, had not Demosthenes eclipsed them all, by the strength of his genius, and the extraordinary superiority of his merit.

All posterity have done him the same justice, which even his own age did not deny him. But Cicero's judgment alone should determine that of every judicious and equitable man. He is not a stupid admirer, who gives himself up to blind prejudices without examination. But how much soever in Cicero's opinion, Demosthenes excelled in every species of Eloquence, [*m*] he still owns that he does not satisfy him in every particular, and that he left him something to wish for; so delicate was he upon that point, and so sublime and elevated was his idea of a perfect orator. However, he gives his orations, and especially that for Ctesiphon, which was his master-piece, as the most finished models we can propose to ourselves.

What is there then in his orations that is so admirable, and could seize the universal and unanimous applause of all ages? Is Demosthenes an orator who amuses himself barely with tickling the ear, by the sound and harmony of periods; or does he impose upon the mind by a florid style, and shining thoughts? Such Eloquence may indeed dazzle and charm, the moment we hear it; but the impression it makes is of a short duration. What we admire in Demosthenes is the plan, the series, and the order and disposition of the oration; it is the strength of the proofs, the solidity of the arguments, the grandeur and nobleness of the sentiments, and of the style; the vivacity of

[*l*] Sequitur oratorum ingens manus cùm decem simul Athenis ætas una tulerit: quorum longè princeps Demosthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

[*m*] Usque eò difficiles ac morosi sumus, ut nobis non satisfaciat ipse Demosthenes: qui, quanquam unus eminet inter omnes in omni genere dicendi, tamen non semper implet aures meas, ita sunt avidæ & capaces, & semper aliquid immensum infinitumque desiderant. Orat. n. 104.

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the turns and figures; in a word, [n] the wonderful art of representing the subjects he treats in all their lustre, and displaying them in all their strength; in which, according to Quintilian, that just Eloquence chiefly consists, which is not satisfied with representing things as they really are, but heightens them by lively and animating touches, which only are capable of affecting and moving the passions of the auditors. But that which distinguishes Demosthenes still more, and in which no one has imitated him, is, that he drops himself so entirely; is always so scrupulous in avoiding every thing that might look like a shew or parade of wit and genius; and so careful to make the auditor attend to the cause, and not to the orator, that no expression, turn, or thought ever escape him, such, I mean, as are calculated merely to please or shine. This reservedness, this moderation, in so fine a genius as Demosthenes, and in topics so susceptible of graces and elegance, raises his merit to its highest pitch, and is superior to all encomiums. M. Tourreil's translation, though generally very just, does not always preserve that inimitable character; and we sometimes meet with ornaments in it, which are not found in the original.

The reader will not take it amiss, if I support what I have declared of Demosthenes's style, by the opinion of two illustrious moderns, which ought to have as much weight as those of the ancients.

The first is from the archbishop of Cambray's dialogues upon Eloquence, which are very proper to form the taste, by the judicious reflections with which they abound. He thus speaks of Demosthenes, in his comparison between him and Isocrates. "Isocrates "is full of florid and effeminate orations, and with "periods laboured with infinite pains to please the "ear; whilst Demosthenes moves, warms, and seizes "the heart. The latter is too much concerned for

[n] In hoc eloquentiæ vis est ut judicem non ad id tantùm impellat, in quod ipse à rei naturâ duceretur; sed aut qui non est, aut majorem quàm est, faciat affectum. Hæc est illa quæ δύναμις vocatur, rebus indignis, asperis, invidiosis addens vim oratio: quâ virtute præter alios plurimùm Demosthenes valuit. Quint. l. 6. c. 2.

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" his country, to amuse himself, like Isocrates, in " playing upon words: he argues closely, and his " sentiments are those of a soul that conceives no- " thing but great ideas: his discourse improves and " gathers strength, at every word, from the new ar- " guments he employs. It is a chain of bold and " moving figures. Every reader sees plainly, that " his whole soul is fixed on his country. Nature " herself speaks in his transports, and art is so ex- " quisite in what he says, that it does not appear. " Nothing was ever equal to his impetuosity and " vehemence." I shall soon quote another passage from M. Fenelon, which is still more beautiful, wherein he compares Demosthenes to Cicero.

My second authority is M. de Tourreil, who had studied Demosthenes long enough to discover his character, and the genius of his writings. " I allow, says " he, that we do not find in Æschines that air of rec- " titude, that impetuosity of style, that force of trans- " cendant veracity, which forces the consent by the " weight of conviction; a talent that leaves De- " mosthenes without an equal, and which he applies " in a singular manner. Whether he calms or ele- " vates the mind, we do not find ourselves in any dis- " order, but think we are obeying the dictates of na- " ture. Whether he persuades or dissuades, we do " not perceive any thing that offers violence, but we " think we are obeying the commands of reason, for " this orator always speaks like nature and reason, " and has properly no other style but theirs. What- " ever he says flows from that spring. He avoids " even the shadow of redundancy. He has no far- " fetched embellishments nor flowers. He loves no- " thing but fire and light. He will not employ glit- " tering weapons, but such only as will do execution. " This, in my opinion, is the foundation of that vic- " torious impetuosity which subdued the Athenians, " and places Demosthenes above all the orators " who ever lived.

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" A peculiar energy, says the same author, in another place, constitutes his character, and sets him " above equality. His discourse is a series of inductions, conclusions, and demonstrations, formed by " common sense. His reasoning, of which the force " perpetually increases, rises by degrees, and with " precipitation, to the pitch he would carry it. He " attacks openly, he pushes forward, and at last reduces the auditor to such streights, that there is no " further retreat for him. But on this occasion, the " auditor, far from being ashamed of his defeat, feels " the pleasure which submitting to reason affords. " *Isocrates*, said Philip, *pushes only with a foil, but Demosthenes fights with the sword*... We see in him a " man, who has no other enemies but those of the " state, nor any passion but the love of order and " justice. A man, whose aim is not to dazzle but to " inform; not to please, but to be useful. He employs no other ornaments, but such as grow out " of his subject; nor any flowers but those he finds in " his way. One would conclude, that he desired nothing farther than to be understood, and that he " gained admiration without seeking it. Not that he " is devoid of graces, but then they are those only " of an austere kind, and such as are compatible with " the candour and ingenuity he professed. In his " writings, truth is not set off with paint, nor does " he make it effeminate with intent to adorn it; no " kind of ostentation, or retrospect upon himself; he " neither shews nor regards himself, but is entirely " confined to his cause; and his cause is always the " preservation or advantage of his country."

II. OF CICERO'S ELOQUENCE, COMPARED WITH THAT OF DEMOSTHENES.

[*o*] Two orators, though very different in style and character, may yet be equally perfect; so that it would

[*o*] In his oratoribus illud animadvertendum est, posse esse summos, qui inter se sint dissimiles... Ita dissimiles erant inter se, statuere ut tamen non posses utrius te malles similiorem. Brut. n. 204. & 148.

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not be easy to determine which of them we should chuse to resemble.

Perhaps this rule, with which Cicero furnishes us, may be of service in the judgment we are to form between him and Demosthenes.

Both excelled in the three kinds of writing, as every one must do who is truly eloquent. They knew how to vary their style as their subjects varied; sometimes simple and subtile [p] in causes of small consequence, in narrations and proofs; and at others, adorned and embellished, when there was a necessity of pleasing; sometimes elevated and sublime, when the dignity of the subject required it. [q] Cicero makes this remark, and he quotes for examples Demosthenes and himself.

Quintilian has drawn a fine parallel between these two orators. [r] "The qualities, says he, on which "Eloquence is founded, were alike in both; such "as the design, the order, the disposition, the divi- "sion, the method of preparing the auditors, and the "proving; and, in a word, every thing that is rela- "tive to invention.

"[s] But there is some difference in their style. The "one is more concise, the other more diffusive; the "one pushes closer to his adversary, the other allows "him a larger spot to fight upon. The one is always "endeavouring to pierce him, as it were, with the "vivacity of his style; the other often bears him "down with the weight of his discourse. Nothing "can be retrenched from the one, nor added to the

[p] Je me sers ici de ce mot, quoique dans notre langue il porte une autre idée que le *subtilis* des Latins.

[q] In Orat. n. 102, 103, & 110, 111.

[r] Horum ego virtutes pleraſque arbitror similes: consilium: ordinem: dividendi, præparandi, probandi rationem; omnia denique quæ sunt inventionis. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

[s] In eloquendo est aliqua diversitas. Densior ille, hic copiosior. Ille concludit astrictiùs, hic latiùs pugnat. Ille * acumine semper, hic frequenter & pondere. Illi nihil detrahi potest, huic nihil adjici. Curæ plus in illo, in hoc naturæ.

* *The translator has thus rendered this passage,* L'un est toujours subtil dans la dispute, *&c. I do not think that subtilty is meant here, but believe that the metaphor is borrowed from a sword.*

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" other. Demosthenes has more care and study, " and Cicero more nature and genius.

" [*t*] As to raillery, and the exciting commisera- " tion, both which are of vast effect in Eloquence, " Cicero has undoubtedly the advantage in these.

" [*u*] But he yields to him in this respect, *viz.* that " Demosthenes lived before him; and that Cicero, " though a very extraordinary man, owes part of his " merit to the Athenian orator. For, my opinion is, " that Cicero, having bent all his thoughts to the " Greeks, in order to form himself upon their model, " compounded his character out of Demosthenes's " strength, Plato's copiousness, and Isocrates's sweet- " ness. And such was his application, that he not " only extracted every thing extraordinary from those " great originals, but produced, as it were, by the " happy fruitfulness of his divine genius, the greatest " part of those very perfections, or rather all of them. " For, to use an expression of Pindar, he does not " collect the waters of heaven to remedy his natural " subtleness; but finds a spring of living water with- " in himself, which is ever flowing with vehemence " and impetuosity; and one would conclude, that the " Gods had given him to the world, in order that " Eloquence might exert her utmost strength in the " person of this great man.

" [*x*] And indeed, what man was ever more exact " in instructing, or moved the passions with greater " force?

[*t*] Salibus certè & commiseratione (qui duo plurimùm affectus valent) vincimus.

[*u*] Cedendum verò in hoc quidem, quòd & ille prior fuit, & ex magnâ parte Ciceronem, quantus est, fecit. Nam mihi videtur Marcus Tullius, cùm se totum ad imitationem Græcorum contulisset, effinxisse vim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Isocratis. Nec verò quod in quoque optimum fuit studio consecutus est tantùm, sed plurimas vel potiùs omnes ex se ipso virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatissimâ ubertate. Non enim pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas colligit, sed vivo gurgite exundat, dono quodam Providentiæ genitus, in quo totas vires suas eloquentia experiretur.

[*x*] Nam quis docere diligentiùs, movere vehementiùs potest? Cui tanta unquam jucunditas affuit? ut ipsa illa quæ extorquet, impetrare eum credas, & cum transversum vi suâ judicem ferat, tamen ille non rapi videatur, sed sequi. Jam in omnibus quæ dicet tanta auctoritas inest, ut dissentire pudeat; nec advocati

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" force? What orator has such a profusion of charms " as him we are speaking of? These are so great, " that we think we grant him what he forces from us; " and, when he hurries away the judges by his im- " petuosity, as with a torrent, they think they fol- " low him of their own accord, at the very time they " are forced along. Besides, he delivers himself with " so much reason and weight, that we are ashamed to " differ in opinion from him. We do not find in him " the zeal of a lawyer, but the integrity of a witness " and of a judge. And these several particulars, " every one of which would cost another infinite pains, " flow naturally, and, as it were, of themselves, " from him; so that his manner of writing, though " so beautiful and inimitable, is nevertheless so easy " and natural, that one would conclude it had not " cost him any pains.

" [y] His cotemporaries therefore had reason to " say, that he exercised a kind of empire at the bar. " And it was but justice in those who succeeded him, " to esteem him so highly, that the name of Cicero is " now less the name of a man, than of Eloquence it- " self. Let us therefore keep our eyes perpetually " upon him; let this orator be our model, and we may " depend that we have made a great improvement, " when we love and have a taste for Cicero.

Quintilian did not dare to form a judgment upon these two great orators; he however seems to have a secret prejudice in favour of Cicero.

Father Rapin is equally cautious and reserved in his comparison between those orators. I should be obliged to copy his whole treatise, were I to repeat all his beautiful reflections on this subject. But some short

vocati studium, sed testis aut judicis afferat fidem. Cùm interim hæc omnia, quæ vix singula quisquam intentissimâ curâ consequi posset, fluunt illaborata: & illa, quâ nihil pulchrius auditu est, oratio præ se fert tamen felicissimam facilitatem.

[y] Quare non immeritò ab hominibus ætatis suæ regnare in judiciis dictus est, apud posteros verò id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. Hunc igitur spectemus: hoc propositum nobis sit exemplum. Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valdè placebit.

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extracts inform us sufficiently of the difference to be found between them.

" Besides that solidity, says he, speaking of Cicero, " which comprised so much sense and prudence, he " had a certain beauty and quintessence of wit, which " enabled him to embellish all his ideas; and he " heightened every thing that occurred to his imagi- " nation, with the most beautiful turns, and the " most animated colours in nature. Whatever sub- " ject he might treat, even the most abstracted mat- " ters in logic, the driest topics in natural philosophy, " the most knotty points in law, or the most intricate " in business; all these, I say, when delivered by " him, assumed that sprightliness, and all those graces " so natural to him. For, we must confess, that no " man ever spoke with so much judgment or beauty " on all subjects.

" Demosthenes, says he elsewhere, discovers the " reality and solidity of every reason that presents it- " self to his mind, and has the art of displaying it in " all its force. Cicero, besides the solid, which never " escapes him, sees whatever is agreeable and en- " gaging, and traces it directly. In order, therefore, " to distinguish the characters of these two orators by " their real difference, methinks we may say, that " Demosthenes, from the impetuosity of his temper, " the strength of his reason, and the vehemence of " his action, had more force than Cicero; as Cicero, " by his soft and delicate deportment, by his gentle, " piercing, and passionate emotions, and his many " natural graces, was more affecting than Demos- " thenes. The Grecian struck the mind by the strength " of his expression, and the ardour and violence of " his declamation; the Roman reached the art by " certain charms and imperceptible beauties, which " were natural to him, and which were heightened " by all the art that Eloquence is capable of. The " one dazzled the understanding by the splendour of " his light, and threw a confusion into the soul, which " was won by the understanding only; and the insi-

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" nuating genius of the other penetrated, by a cer-
" tain sweetness and complacency, to the most hid-
" den recesses of the heart. He had the art of enter-
" ing into the interests, the inclinations, the passions,
" and sentiments of all who heard him."

The archbishop of Cambray, having more courage than the two excellent writers above-cited, declares manifestly in favour of Demosthenes; and yet he cannot be thought to be an enemy to the graces, the flowers, and elegance of speech. He gives us his sentiments on this subject, in his epistle upon Eloquence. " I am not, says he, afraid to own, that I prefer De-
" mosthenes to Cicero. I protest no one admires Ci-
" cero more than I do: he adorns every thing he
" touches: he does honour to speech: he makes
" more of words than any other could: he is possessed
" of a variety of geniusses: he is even concise and
" vehement whenever he pleases, against Catiline,
" Verres, and Antony; but we perceive some em-
" bellishment in his orations. They are worked up
" with wonderful art, but we see through it. When
" the orator thinks of the safety of the common-
" wealth, he neither forgets himself, nor suffers others
" to do it; but Demosthenes seems to step out, as it
" were, from himself, and to see nothing but his
" country. He does not seek after beauties, for they
" occur to him naturally. He is superior to admira-
" tion: he makes use of speech as a modest man does
" of clothes: he thunders and lightens: he is a flood,
" that sweeps away all things in its progress. We
" cannot criticize upon him, because we are capti-
" vated by his Eloquence. We are attentive to his
" ideas, and not to his words; we lose sight of him,
" and our whole attention is fixed on Philip, who
" usurps every thing. Both orators charm me; but
" I own myself less affected with Cicero's boundless
" art, and magnificent Eloquence, than with the ra-
" pid simplicity of Demosthenes."

Nothing can be more rational and judicious than these reflections of the great archbishop; and the closer

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closer we examine his opinion, the more conformable we find it to good sense, right reason, and the most exact rules of true rhetoric. But whoever would take upon him to prefer Demosthenes's orations to those of Cicero, ought, in my opinion, to possess almost as much solidity, force, and elevation of mind, as Demosthenes must have had to compose them. Whether it be owing to a long prepossession in favour of an author we have constantly read from our tender years; or that we are accustomed to a style which agrees more with our manners, and is more adapted to our capacities; we cannot be persuaded to prefer the severe austerity of Demosthenes to the insinuating softness of Cicero; and we chuse to follow our own inclinations and taste for an author, who is in some measure our friend and acquaintance, rather than to declare, upon the credit of another, in favour of one that is almost a stranger to us.

Cicero knew the high merit of Demosthenes's Eloquence, and was fully sensible of all its strength and beauty: but, being persuaded that an orator may, without deviating from the best rules, form his style to a certain point upon the taste of his auditors (it is obvious enough, that I do not here mean a depraved or vicious taste,) he did not think the age he lived in susceptible of so rigid an exactness; [z] and believed it necessary to indulge something to the ears and to the delicacy of his auditors, who required more elegance and graces in orations. Thus, he made some allowance to pleasure, but still never lost sight of the cause he was pleading; and he thought he was even then serving his country, which he did effectually, since one of the surest methods of persuading is to please.

The best advice that can be given to young persons, who are designed for the bar, is to take for the model

[z] Quapropter ne illis quidem nimium repugno, qui dandum putant nonnihil esse temporibus atque auribus nitidius aliquid atque affectatius postulantibus. . . . Atque id fecisse M. Tullium video, ut, cùm omnia utilitati, tùm partem quandam delectationi daret: cùm & ipsam se rem agere dicere (agebat autem maximè) litigatoris. Nam hoc ipso proderat, quòd placebat. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

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of their style, the solid foundation of Demosthenes, embellished with the graces of Cicero: [a] To which, if we may believe Quintilian, nothing can be added, except, says he, that perhaps a few more thoughts might be introduced in discourses. He means, no doubt, those which were very much in vogue in his time, and by which, as by so many lively and shining strokes, they pointed the ends of most of their periods. Cicero ventures upon them sometimes, but it is very rarely; [b] and he was the first among the Romans who made them current. It is very obvious, that what Quintilian says in this place is nothing but a kind of condescension, which the depraved taste of the age seems to have forced from him, [c] when according to the observation of the author of the Dialogue upon orators, the auditor thought he had a right to insist upon a florid style; and when even the judge would not vouchsafe to hear a lawyer, if he were not invited, and in some measure corrupted, by the allurement of pleasure, and by the splendor of the thoughts and descriptions.

"[d] But, let no one pretend, adds Quintilian, to "abuse my compliance, or to carry it farther. I "will indulge the age we live in so far, as to have the "gown now in fashion made of something better "than coarse stuff; but then it must not be of silk: I "will allow the hair to be neatly disposed, but it must "not be in stages, and in ringlets; for dress is then "the most elegant, and at the same time most beau-"tiful and becoming, when it has nothing luxurious "and excessive in it for the sake of pleasing."

[a] Ad cujus voluptates nihil equidem, quod addi possit, invenio, nisi ut sensus nos quidem dicamus plures. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

[b] Cicero primus excoluit orationem. . . . locosque lætiores attentavit, & quasdam sententias invenit. Dial. de Or. n. 22.

[c] Auditor assuevit jam exigere lætitiam & pulchritudinem orationis . . . Judex ipse, nisi. . . aut colore sententiarum, aut nitore & cultu descriptionum invitatus & corruptus est, aversatur dicentem. Ib. n. 20.

[d] Sed me hactenus cedentem nemo insequatur ultrà. Do tempori, ne crassa toga sit, non serica: ne intonsum caput, non in gradus atque annulos totum comptum: cùm in eo qui se non ad luxuriam ac libidinem referat, eadem speciosiora quoque sint, quæ honestiora. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

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Had orators kept within these just bounds, and this wise sobriety with regard to ornaments, Eloquence would not have degenerated in Athens and Rome.

We may affirm, that the most conspicuous age for Eloquence at Athens was that of Demosthenes, [e] when so great a multitude of excellent orators arose, whose general character was, a natural and unadorned beauty: these orators did not all boast the same genius, nor the same style; but they were all united in the same taste of truth and simplicity; which continued as long as the Athenians imitated those great men; but the remembrance of them growing insensibly more obscure after their death, and being at last quite obliterated in people's minds, a new species of Eloquence arose, which was softer, and more loose and diffused, than the ancient kind.

Demetrius Phalereus, who might have seen and heard Demosthenes, took a different course, by giving entirely into the florid and embellished species. He thought Eloquence ought to appear in gay and sprightly colours, and be divested of that gloomy and rigid air, which made her, in his opinion, too serious. He introduced a great many more thoughts; strewed more flowers over her; and, to use an expression of Quintilian, instead of the majestic, but modest dress she wore in Demosthenes's time, [f] he gave her a sparkling robe, variegated with colours altogether unfit for the dust of the bar, but at the same time very fit to attract and dazzle the eyes of people.

[e] Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam: &, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille & sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in quâ naturalis inesset non fucatus nitor. Brut. n. 36.

Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Æschines, Dinarchus, aliique complures, etsi inter se pares non fuerunt, tamen sunt omnes in eodem veritatis imitandæ genere versati. Quorum quamdiu mansit imitatio, tamdiu genus illud dicendi studiumque vixit. Posteaquam, extinctis his, omnis eorum memoria sensim obscurata est & evanuit, alia quædam dicendi molliora ac remissiora genera viguerunt. 2. de Orat. n. 94, 95.

[f] Meminerimus versicolorem illam quâ Demetrius Phalereus dicebatur uti vestem, non benè ad forensem pulverem facere. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

Thus

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[g] Thus Demetrius, being fitter for affairs of pomp and ceremony, than the contest and litigations of the Bar, preferred softness to strength; endeavoured more to charm than subdue the mind; he thought it sufficient to leave in it the remembrance of a flowing and harmonious discourse; but did not endeavour, like Pericles, to leave at the same time sharp stings, as it were, blended with the allurements of pleasure.

[h] It does not appear, by the picture which Cicero had elsewhere drawn of Phalereus, and his opinion of him, that there was however any thing of forced and excessive in his style; since he says, [i] we might esteem and approve it, if not compared with the force and majesty of the noble and sublime style. [k] And nevertheless Demetrius was the first who caused Eloquence to degenerate; [l] and perhaps declamations, the practice of which was first introduced into the schools in his time, and possibly might have been invented by him, contributed very much to this fatal decline, as they certainly afterwards hastened that of the Roman Eloquence.

But things did not long continue in this state. [m] When Eloquence, after leaving the Pyræum, had begun to breathe another air, she soon lost that sprightliness and florid health which she had always preserved there; and, being vitiated by foreign manners, she forgot, as it were, the use of speech, and

[g] Phalereus successit eis senibus adolescens, eruditissimus ille quidem horum omnium, sed non tam armis institutus quàm palæstrâ. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienses, quàm inflammabat. Processerat enim in solem & pulverem: non ut è militari tabernaculo, sed ut è Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis. Hic primus inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit: & suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit, quam gravis, sed suavitate eâ quâ perfunderet animos, non quâ perfringeret: & tantùm ut memoriam concinnitatissuæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorem â quibus esset auditus. Brut. n. 37, 38.

[h] Orat. n. 91, 96.

[i] Et nisi coràm erit, comparatus ille fortior per se hic, quem dico, probabitur. Orat. n. 95.

[k] Primus inclinâsse eloquentiam dicitur. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

[l] Quint. l. 2. c. 4.

[m] Ut semel è Piræeo eloquentia evecta est, omnes peragravit insulas, atque ita peregrinata totâ Asiâ est, ut se externis oblineret moribus: omnemque illam salubritatem Atticæ dictionis & quasi sanitatem perderet, ac loqui penè dediceret. Brut. n. 51.

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was so changed, that there was no knowing her. Thus she fell by degrees from the *beautiful* and the *perfect*, to the mediate or indifferent, whence she plunged into every kind of error and excess.

I observed in another place, in speaking of Seneca, that the Latin Eloquence met with the same fate.

Possibly the same reasons may justly make us apprehend the like misfortune, especially when we consider, that those changes proceeded wholly, both in the Athenian and Roman Eloquence, from an excessive desire of setting her off with too much pomp and parade. For I know not by what fatality it has always happened, that as soon as taste was arrived at a certain degree of maturity and perfection, it almost immediately degenerated, and fell by imperceptible gradations, tho' sometimes very suddenly, from the summit of perfection to barbarity. I except, however, the Greek poetry, every species of which, from Homer to Theocritus and his cotemporaries, that is, for six or seven centuries, preserved the same purity and elegance.

We may affirm, to the glory of our own nation, that our taste, with regard to polite literature, has been exquisite for near a century, and still continues so. But it is remarkable, that those celebrated writers, who have done so much honour to France, each of whom may be considered as an original in his way, thought it a duty incumbent on them to consider the ancients as their masters; and that the writings in the greatest esteem among us, and which in all probability will descend to the latest posterity are all formed on the model of the celebrated among the ancients. This ought also to be our rule; and we may be assured that we deviate as much from perfection, as we depart from the taste of the ancients.

But to return, and conclude this article; the best model for youth designed for the bar, is, as was before observed, Demosthenes's style, softened and adorned with that of Cicero, in such a manner, that the severity of the former be qualified with the graces of

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of the latter; and that the conciseness and vivacity of Demosthenes may correct the luxuriancy, and perhaps the too loose [n] way of writing, with which Cicero is reproached.

A more florid kind of Eloquence, such, for example, as that of M. Flechier, is no way suitable to lawyers. I never read the picture which Cicero gives of an orator of his time called Callidius, but I discover most of M. Flechier's principal characters in it; and the reflection he makes upon it, seems to me very well adapted to the matter I am now treating. "[o] "He was not, says he, an orator of an ordinary rank, "but one of singular and uncommon merit. His "thoughts are great and exquisite, and he clothes "them in delicate words. He managed a discourse "as he pleased, and could throw it into any form; "no orator was ever more master of his subject, or "handled it with greater art. Nothing is purer or "more flowing than his diction; every word stands "in its proper place, and is set in, as it were, by a "masterly hand. He admits nothing harsh, obso-"lete, low, or that can confuse or disorder a discourse. "He uses metaphors frequently, but they are so na-

[n] Dial. de Orat. n. 18.

[o] Sed de M. Callidio dicamus aliquid, qui non fuit orator unus è multis; potiùs inter multos prope singularis fuit: ita reconditas exquisitasque sententias mollis & pellucens vestiebat oratio. Nihil tam tenerum quàm illius comprehensio verborum: nihil tam flexibile: nihil quod magis ipsius arbitrio fingeretur, ut nullius oratoris æquè in potestate fuerit. Quæ primùm ita pura erat, ut nihil liquidius; ita liberè fluebat, ut nusquam adhæresceret. Nullum nisi loco positum, & tanquam in vermiculato emblemate, ut ait Lucilius, structum verbum videres. Nec verò ullum aut durum, aut insolens, aut humile, aut in longius ductum. Ac non propria verba rerum, sed pleraque tralata; sic tamen ut ea, non irruisse in alienum locum, sed immigrâsse in suum diceres. Nec verò hæc soluta, nec diffluentia, sed adstricta numeris, non apertè nec eodem modo semper, sed variè dissimulanterque conclusis. Erant autem & verborum & sententiarum lumina . . . quibus tantum insignibus in ornatu distinguebatur omnis oratio. . . . Accedebat ordo rerum plenus artis, totumque dicendi placidum & sanum genus. Quòd si est optimum suaviter dicere, nihil est quod melius hôc quærendum putes. Sed cum à nobis paulò antè dictum sit, tria videri esse, quæ orator efficere deberet, ut doceret, ut delectaret, ut moveret: duo summè tenuit, ut & rem illustraret disserendo, & animos eorum qui audirent demulceret voluptate. Aberat tertia illa laus, quâ permoveret atque incitaret animos, quam plurimùm pollere diximus. Brut. n. 274, 275, 276.

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"tural, that they seem less to assume the place of "other words, than to possess their own. All this "is accompanied with harmony and cadence surpris- "ingly various, and yet far from affectation. He "aptly employs the most beautiful figures, which "add a strong lustre to his writings. We see the "utmost art and justness in the order and plan of his "work; and the style of the whole is easy, calm, and "in an exquisite taste. In a word, if Eloquence con- "sisted in beauty only, nothing could be superior to "this orator. Of the three parts which constitute it, "he is a perfect master of the two first; I mean those "which tend to please and instruct; but he is quite "deficient in the third species, which is the most "considerable, I mean that by which the passions "are moved."

We ought certainly to set a high value upon this kind of Eloquence; but in what light will it appear when compared to the great and the sublime, which is the characteristic of that of Demosthenes? The latter resembles those beautiful and magnificent buildings, formed after the taste of ancient architecture, that admits only of simple ornaments; the first view of which, and much more the plan, the œconomy and distribution of the several parts, exhibit something so great, noble, and majestic, that they strike and charm the artist at the same instant. The other may be compared to houses built in an elegant and delicate taste, to which art and opulence have annexed whatever is rich and splendid; in which gold and marble are every where seen, and where the eye is perpetually delighted with something curious and exquisite.

There is a third kind of Eloquence, which, in my opinion, is also inferior to the second, and may lead us insensibly to something worse; I mean that which abounds with sallies of wit, bright thoughts, and a kind of points, which are now so much in vogue. These are supported in some of our writers, by the justness of ideas, the strength of argument, the order and

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and series of discourse, and natural beauty of genius. But, as the last qualities are very uncommon, we have just reason to fear that their imitators will copy all the vices and defects of their style, as did Seneca's imitators; [p] for these, by copying only his faults, were as much inferior to the model they proposed to follow, as Seneca himself to the ancients.

The Bar was always, but now more than ever, an enemy to this dazzling, affected style. The grave discourses of those judicious magistrates, who, when they prescribe the true rules of Eloquence every year to pleaders, point out at the same time perfect models to them, are strong barriers against a vicious taste; and contribute very much towards perpetuating, in courts of justice, that happy traditional good taste, as well as just sentiments, which they have so long retained.

Before I conclude this article, I should treat a point in which several young students will one day want to be instructed; I mean to point out the style proper for *Reports*. This branch is of much more frequent use, and more extensive, in our days, than the Eloquence of the Bar; for it takes in all who are concerned in the law, and is practised in all the superior and inferior courts, in all companies, in all public offices, and in all commissions. To succeed in this kind of declamation, is as glorious as the pleading of causes, and as useful for the defence of justice and innocence. However, I can treat but very slightly of this matter here, and will only explain the principles of it, without being very particular.

I am sensible, that every judge and every court have their particular usages and customs in reporting cases. But all have the same foundation; and the style on these occasions must be the same everywhere. There is a sort of Eloquence peculiar to this kind of

[p] Amabant eum magis, quàm imitabantur; tantùmque ab illo defluebant, quantùm ille ab antiquis descenderat. Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

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discourse, which consists, if I am not mistaken, in speaking with perspicuity and elegance.

The end proposed by a person who reports cases, is, to inform the judges, his colleagues, of the affair upon which they are to give judgment in conjunction with him. He is charged, in their names, with the examination of it. He becomes, on that occasion, the eye, as it were, of the company. He communicates to them all the lights and informations possible. But to do this effectually, the subjects he undertakes to treat must be methodized in such a manner, the several facts and proofs so disposed, and the whole so perspicuous and clear, that all may easily comprehend the *Report*. All things must conspire to this perspicuity; the thoughts, the expressions, the turns, and even the utterance, which must be distinct, easy, and calm.

I observed, that to beauty must be joined perspicuity, because we must often please, in order to instruct. Judges are but men, and though they are attached to truth and justice, abstracted from all other considerations, it is however proper to attach them still more strongly to them, by something taking and delightful. Causes which are generally obscure and full of difficulties, occasion tediousness and disgust, if the person who makes the report does not take care to render it agreeable, by a certain elegance and delicacy of wit, which strikes us without affecting to display itself, and, by a certain charm and grace, awakens and excites the attention of the hearers.

Addresses to the passions, wherein the greatest force of Eloquence consists in other cases, are here absolutely prohibited. The person who makes the report, does not speak as an advocate, but as a judge. In this view, he maintains one of the characteristics of the law, which, while it is serene and calm itself, points out the rule and duty; and, as he himself is commanded to be free from passions, he is not allowed to attempt to excite them in others.

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This manner of speaking, which is not supported either by the beauty of thoughts and expressions, by the boldness of figures, or by the pathos of the passions, but which has only an easy, simple, and natural air and turn in it, is the only one fit for reports, and at the same time not so easy to attain as may be imagined.

I would willingly apply what Tully says of Scaurus's Eloquence, to that of one who makes reports. This orator tells us, that it did not suit the vivacity of pleading, but was very well adapted to the gravity of a senator, who was more considerable for his solidity and dignity, than for pomp and shew; and whose consummate prudence, joined to the highest sincerity, forced the auditors to give their consent. For, on this occasion, the reputation of a judge constitutes part of his Eloquence, and the idea we entertain of his integrity, adds great weight and authority to his discourse. [q] *In Scauri oratione, sapientis hominis & recti, gravitas summa & naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas: non ut causam, sed ut testimonium dicere putares, cùm pro reo diceret. Hoc dicendi genus ad patrocinia mediocriter aptum videbatur; ad senatoriam verò sententiam, cujus erat ille princeps, vel maximè: significabat enim non prudentiam solùm, sed, quod maximè rem continebat, fidem.*

It is therefore manifest, that those who would succeed in *Reports*, must carefully study the first, or simple kind of Eloquence; must enter thoroughly into the genius and taste of it, and copy from the best models; must use the second species of Eloquence, viz. the flowery and mediate kind, very sparingly; borrow only a few touches and beauties from it, with a wise circumspection, and that very rarely; but as to the third kind (the sublime style) they must absolutely never make use of it.

The practice of the universities, especially in the classes of Rhetoric and Philosophy, may be very useful to young people, in preparing them for making

[q] Brut. n. 111, 112.

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reports. After explaining one of Tully's orations, the pupils are obliged to give an account of it, to display its several parts, to distinguish the various proofs, and make remarks upon such passages as are strong or weak. In philosophy likewise, it is the custom, after reading some excellent treatises of that kind to them, such as Descartes and Malebranche, to discuss them thoroughly, to reduce arguments, which often are very long and abstracted, to some conciseness and perspicuity, to set the difficulties and objections in their full light, and to subjoin the solutions deduced from them. I have heard young lawyers own, that of all the university exercises this was the most advantageous, and of the greatest use to them in reports.

ARTICLE II.

HOW YOUTH MAY PREPARE THEMSELVES FOR PLEADING.

AS Demosthenes and Cicero arrived at perfection in Eloquence, they are the most proper to point out the path which youth must follow to attain it. I shall therefore give a short relation of what we are told concerning their tender years, their education, the different exercises by which they prepared themselves for pleading, and what formed their greatest merit, and established their reputation. Thus, these two great orators will serve at the same time for models and guides to youth. I do not however pretend to say, they must or can imitate them in every thing; but should they follow them only at a distance, they would find great advantages from it.

DEMOSTHENES.

[r] Demosthenes, having lost his father at the age of seven years, and falling into the hands of selfish and avaricious guardians, who were wholly bent upon

[r] Plut. in Vitâ Demosth.

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plundering his estate, was not educated with the care which so excellent a genius as his deserved: not to mention, that the delicacy of his constitution, his ill state of health, and the excessive fondness of his mother, did not allow his masters to urge him in regard to his studies.

Demosthenes, hearing them one day speak of a famous cause that was to be pleaded, and which made a great noise in the city, importuned them very much to carry him with them to the Bar, in order to hear the pleadings. The orator, whose name was Callistratus, was heard with great attention; and having been very successful, was conducted home, in a ceremonious manner, amidst a croud of illustrious citizens, who expressed the highest satisfaction. Demosthenes was strongly affected with the honours which were paid the orator, and still more with the absolute and despotic power which Eloquence has over the mind. Demosthenes himself was sensible of its force; and, unable to resist its charms, he from that day devoted himself entirely to it, and immediately laid aside every other pleasure and study.

Isocrates's school, [*s*] which formed so many great orators, was at that time the most famous in Athens. But whether the sordid avarice of Demosthenes's tutors hindered him from improving under a master who made his pupils pay very dear [*t*] for their instruction, or whether the gentle or calm Eloquence of Isocrates was not then suitable to his taste, he was placed under Isæus [*u*], whose Eloquence was forcible and vehement. He found, however, an opportunity to procure the precepts of Rhetoric as taught by Isocrates. Plato indeed contributed most to the forming of Demosthenes. [*x*] And we plainly disco-

[*s*] Isocrates . . . cujus è ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. 2. de Orat. n. 94.

[*t*] Ten minæ, or five hundred French livres.

[*u*] Sermo Promptus, & Isæo torrentior. Juven.

[*x*] Illud jusjurandum per cæsos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores reipublicæ, satis manifestò docet præceptorem ejus Platonem fuisse. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

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ver the noble and sublime style of the master, in the writings of the pupil.

His first essay of Eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to restore part of his fortune. Encouraged by this good success, he ventured to speak before the people; but acquitted himself very ill on that occasion. Demosthenes had a faint voice, stammered in his speech, and had a very short breath; and yet his periods were so long, that he was often obliged to pause in order to take breath. He therefore was hissed by the whole audience, and thereupon went home quite dejected, and determined to abandon for ever a profession to which he imagined himself unequal. But one of his hearers, who perceived an excellent genius amidst his faults, and an Eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, encouraged him, by the strong remonstrances he made, and the salutary advice he gave him.

He therefore appeared a second time before the people, but with no better success than before. As he was going home with down-cast eyes, and full of confusion, he was met by his friend Satyrus, one of the best actors of the age; who, being informed of the cause of his chagrin, told Demosthenes, that the misfortune was not without remedy, nor so desperate as he imagined. He desired Demosthenes only to repeat some of Euripides or Sophocles's verses to him, which he immediately did. Satyrus repeated them after him, and gave them quite another grace, by the tone of voice, the gesture, and vivacity, with which he spoke them; so that Demosthenes observed they had a quite different effect. This made him sensible of what he wanted, and he applied himself to the attainment of it.

His endeavours to correct the natural impediment in his speech, and to perfect himself in utterance, of the value of which his friend had made him so sensible, seemed almost incredible; and to demonstrate, that indefatigable industry can overcome all difficulties,

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ties. [y] He stammered to such a degree, that he could not even pronounce certain letters; and among others, that which began the name of the art he studied; and his breath was so short, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. However, Demosthenes overcame all these obstacles, by putting little pebbles into his mouth, and then repeating several verses one after another, without taking breath; and this even when he walked, and ascended very craggy and steep places: so that he at last could pronounce all the letters without hesitating, and speak the longest periods without once taking breath. But this was not all; [z] for he used to go to the sea-shore and speak his orations when the weather was most boisterous, in order to prepare himself, by the confused noise of the waves, for the uproar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of assemblies. He had a large mirror, which was his master for action; and before this he used to declaim, before he spoke in public. He was well paid for his trouble, since by this method he carried the art of declaiming to the highest perfection of which it was capable.

His application to study, in other respects, was equal to the pains he took to conquer his natural defects. He had a closet made under-ground, that he might be remote from noise and disturbance; and this was to be seen in Plutarch's time. There he shut himself up for months together, and had half his head

[y] Orator imitetur illum, cui sine dubio summa vis dicendi conceditur, Atheniensem Demosthenem, in quo tantum studium fuisse tantusque labor dicitur, ut primùm impedimenta naturæ diligentiâ industriâque superaret; cùmque ita balbus esset, ut ejus ipsius artis, cui studeret, primam literam non posset dicere, perfecit meditando ut nemo planiùs eo locutus putaretur. Deinde cùm spiritus ejus esset angustior, tantum continendâ animâ in dicendo est assecutus, ut unâ continuatione verborum (id quod scripta ejus declarant) binæ ei contentiones vocis, & remissiones continerentur. Quietiam (ut memoriæ proditum est) conjectis in os calculis, summâ voce versus multos uno spiritu pronunciare consuescebat; neque id consistens in loco, sed inambulans, atque adscensu ingrediens arduo. 1. de Orat. n. 260, 261.

[z] Propter quæ idem ille tantus amator secreti Demosthenes, in littore, in quod se maximo cum sono fluctus illideret, meditans consuescebat concionum fremitus non expavescere. Quint. l. 10. c. 13.

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shaved, on purpose that he might be kept from going abroad. It was there he composed, by the light of a small lamp, those excellent harangues, which smelt, as his enemies gave out, of the oil; to insinuate they were too much laboured. 'Tis very plain, replied he, yours did not cost you so much trouble. He was a very early riser, and [a] used to be under great concern when any artificer got to work before him. We may judge of his endeavours to perfect himself in every kind of learning, by the pains he took in copying Thucydides's history no less than eight times, with his own hand, in order to make his style more familiar to him.

CICERO.

Cicero was born with a very fine genius, and had likewise the best education, [b] in which he was more happy than Demosthenes. His father took particular care of it, and spared nothing to cultivate his talents. It appears that the famous Crassus, whom he so often mentions in his works, was pleased to direct the plan of his studies, and assigned him such preceptors as were capable of assisting him in forming Cicero. [c] The poet Archias implanted in him very early the elements of taste for polite literature; which Cicero himself tells us, in the eloquent oration he made in defence of his master.

No child ever discovered more ardour for study than Cicero. Children were at that time taught by none but Greeks; and he performed such things in their language, as deserve to be taken notice of. Plotius was the first who altered that custom, and taught in Latin. He was a Gaul [d], and had a very famous school.

[a] Cui non sunt auditæ Demosthenis vigiliæ? qui dolere se aiebat, si quando opificum antelucanâ victus esset industriâ. 4. Tusc. quæst. n. 44.

[b] 2. de Orat. n. 2.

[c] Quoad longissimè potest mens mea respicere spatium præteriti temporis, & pueritiæ memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens, hunc video mihi principem & ad suscipiendam & ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum extitisse. Orat. pro Arch. n. 1.

[d] Equidem memoriâ teneo, pueris nobis primum Latinè docere cœpisse

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school. People sent their children to it from all parts, and those of the best taste approved his method very much. Cicero was excessively desirous of hearing such a master; but those who had the chief management of his education and studies, did not think proper to gratify him, because that method of teaching, which was not practised or heard of till then, appeared to the magistrates a dangerous innovation; and the censors, of whom Crassus was one, made a decree to prohibit it, without giving any other reason, but that the custom was contrary to the practice established by their ancestors [e]. Crassus, or rather Cicero in his name, endeavours to justify this decree in the best manner he could, which had given offence to people of the best understanding; and he hints, that the new plan itself was not so much condemned, as the method the masters took in teaching it. And indeed [f] this plan prevailed at last, and people were sensible of the benefit and advantages which accrued from it, as Suetonius informs us, who has preserved Cicero's epistle, wherein he speaks of Plotius, the censor's order, and the decree of the senate.

[g] In the mean time, Cicero made a great progress under his masters. And indeed he had such a genius as Plato wished a pupil; a strong thirst for learning, a mind fit for sciences, and that took in all things. Poetry was one of his first passions, and it is related that he succeeded tolerably well in it. From his infant years he distinguished himself in so remarkable a manner among those of his own age, that the parents of his school-fellows, hearing of his extraordinary genius, came on purpose to the school to be eye-witnesses of it, and were charmed with what they saw and heard. His merit must have been attended with

cœpisse Lucium Plotium quemdam ad quem cùm fieret concursus, quòd studiosissimus quisque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continebar autem doctissimorum hominum auctoritate, qui existimabant Græcis exercitationibus alimeliùs ingenia possse. Epist. Cic. apud Suet. de claris Rhetoribus.

[e] 3. de Orat. n. 93, 95.

[f] Paulatim & ipsa utilis honestaque apparuit; multique eam præsidii causâ & gloriæ appetiverunt. Suet. ibid.

[g] Plut. in vit. Cic.

great

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great modesty, since his companions were the first who proclaimed it, and paid him such honours, as raised the jealousy of some of their parents.

At sixteen, which was the time youth were allowed to wear the *toga virilis*, or manly gown, Cicero's studies became more serious. [*h*] It was a custom then at Rome, for the father or next relation of a youth who had attained the age we are now speaking of, and designed for the Bar, to present him to one of the most celebrated orators, and put him under his protection. After this, the young man devoted himself to his patron in a particular manner; went to hear him plead, consulting him about his studies, and did nothing without his advice. Being thus accustomed betimes, to breathe, as it were, the air of the Bar, which is the best school for a young lawyer, and as he was the disciple of the greatest masters, and forming the most finished models, he was soon able to imitate them.

[*i*] Cicero himself tells us, this was his custom, and that he was a diligent hearer of the ablest orators in Rome. He devoted several hours every day to reading and composition; and it is very probable, that what he makes Crassus [*k*] say, in his books *de Oratore*, he himself had practised in his youth; that is, he translated the finest pieces of the Greek orators into Latin, in order to imbibe their style and genius.

[*l*] He did not confine himself barely to the study of Eloquence; for that of the law appeared to him one of the most necessary, and he devoted himself to

[*h*] Ergo apud majores nostros, juvenis ille, qui foro & eloquentiæ parabatur, imbutus jam domesticâ disciplinâ, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur à patre, vel à propinquis, ad eum oratorem qui principem locum in civitate tenebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, hujus omnibus dictionibus interesse. . . . Atque hercule sub ejusmodi præceptionibus juvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator judiciorum, eruditus & assuefactus alienis experimentis . . . . solus statim & unus cuicumque causæ par erat. Dial. de Orat. n. 34.

[*i*] Reliquos frequenter audiens acerrimo studio tenebar, quotidieque & scribens, & legens, & commentans, oratoris tantum exercitationibus contentus non eram. Brut. n. 305.

[*k*] 1. de Orat. n. 155.

[*l*] Brut. n. 306.

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it with uncommon application. He likewise made himself perfectly master of philosophy in all its branches [*m*]; and he proves, in several places, that it contributed infinitely more than Rhetoric towards making him an orator. [*n*] He had the best philosophers of the age for his masters.

Cicero did not begin to plead till he was about six and twenty. The troubles of the state prevented him from attempting it sooner. [*o*] His first essays were so many master-pieces, and they immediately gained him a reputation almost equal to that of the oldest lawyers. His defence of Sextius Roscius, and especially the part relating to the punishment of parricides, had extraordinary success, and gained him great applause; and so much the more, as none else had courage enough to undertake the cause, on account of the exorbitant credit of Chrysogonus, freed man to Sylla the dictator, whose power in the commonwealth was at that time unlimited.

[*p*] The sensible pleasure his rising reputation gave him, was allayed by the ill state of his health. His constitution was very tender; the drudgery of the Bar, together with his warm and vehement manner of writing and speaking, made people fear he would sink under the weight; and all his friends and the physicians enjoined him silence and retirement.

[*m*] Ego fateor, me oratorem, si modò sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiæ spatiis extitisse. Orat. n. 12.

[*n*] Brut. n. 305 & 309.

[*o*] Prima causa publica, pro Sexto Roscio dicta, tantùm commendationis habuit, ut non ulla esset, quæ non nostro digna patrocinio videretur. Brut. n. 312.

Quantis illa clamoribus, adolescentuli diximus de supplicio parricidarum? Orat. n. 107.

[*p*] Erat eo tempore in nobis summa gracilitas & infirmitas corporis; procerum & tenue collum: qui habitus & quæ figura non procul abesse putatur à vitæ periculo, si accedit labor, & laterum magna contentio. Eoque magis hoc eos, quibus eram carus, commovebat, quod omnia sine remissione, sine varietate, vi summâ vocis, & totius corporis contentione dicebam. Itaque cùm me & amici & medici hortarentur, ut causas agere desisterem, quodvis potiùs periculum mihi adeundum, quàm à speratâ dicendi gloriâ discedendum putavi. Sed cùm censerem remissione & moderatione vocis, & commutato genere dicendi, me & periculum vitare posse, & temperatiùs dicere; ea causa mihi in Asiam proficiscendi fuit. Brut. n. 313, 314.

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It was a kind of death to him to renounce wholly the pleasing hopes of glory, which the Bar seemed to offer. He thought it would be enough to soften a little the vehemence of his style and pronunciation, and that a voyage might restore his health. And accordingly he set out for Asia. Some indeed imagined a political reason made his absence necessary, in order that he might avoid the consequence of Chrysogonus's resentment.

[q] He took Athens in his way, and continued there about six months. It is easy to judge, how one who was so fond of study, employed that time, in a city which was still looked upon as the seat of the most refined learning, and most solid philosophy. [r] From Athens he went to Asia, where he consulted all the able professors of Eloquence he could meet with. And, not contented with all the treasures he had amassed there, he proceeded to Rhodes, purposely to hear the celebrated Molo. Though he had already acquired great reputation among the lawyers of Rome, he was not in the least ashamed of taking new lessons under him, and of becoming his disciple a second time. [s] But he had no reason to repent it; for this great master, taking him again under his tuition, corrected what was still vicious in his style; and completely retrenched that excessive redundancy, which, like a river that overflowed its banks, had neither measure nor boundaries.

[t] Cicero returned to Rome after two years absence, not only more accomplished, but almost a new man. He had acquired a sweeter voice; his style was become

[q] Brut. n. 315.

[r] Brut. n. 315, 316.

[s] Is Molo dedit operam, si modò id consequi potuit, ut nimis redundantes nos & superfluentes juvenili quâdam dicendi impunitate & licentiâ reprimeret, & quasi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret. Brut. n. 316.

M. Tullius, cùm jam clarum meruisset inter patronos qui tum erant, nomen. . . Apollonio Molo-ni, quem Romæ quoque audierat, Rhodi se rursus formandum ac velut recoquendum dedit. Quint. l. 12. c. 6.

[t] Ita recepi me biennio post, non modò exercitatior, sed propè mutatus. Nam & contentio nimia vocis reciderat, & quasi deferbuerat oratio, lateribusque vires & corporis mediocris habitus accesserat. Brut. n. 316.

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more correct, and less verbose; and even his body was grown more robust. [u] He found two orators at Rome, who had gained great reputation, and whom he much desired to equal; these were Cotta and Hortensius, but especially the latter, who was very near of the same age with himself, and whose manner of writing bore a near resemblance to his own. It is not an idle curiosity in young men designed for the Bar, to see those two great orators contending for prizes, like two wrestlers, and disputing for victory with one another during several years, through a noble emulation. I shall here relate a part of what Cicero tells us on that subject.

[x] Hortensius wanted none of those qualifications, either natural or acquired, which form the great orator. He had a lively genius, an inconceivable passion for study, a large extent of knowledge, a prodigious memory, and so perfect a manner of pronunciation, that the most celebrated actors of his time went on purpose to hear him, in order to form themselves by his example for gesture and declamation. Thus he made a shining figure at the Bar, and acquired great reputation.

[y] But there being nothing further to animate his ambition, after he was raised to the consulship, and desirous of a more happy way of life, as he imagined, or at least a more easy one, with the great possessions he had acquired, he began to grow indolent, and abated very much of the warmth he had always entertained for study from his childhood. There was

[u] Duo tum excellebant oratores, qui me imitandi cupiditate incitarent, Cotta & Hortensius. . . . Cum Hortensio mihi magis arbitrabar rem esse; quòd & dicendi ardore eram propior, & ætate conjunctior. Brut. n. 317.

[x] Nihil isti, neque à naturâ, neque à doctrinâ defuit. . . . Erat ingenio peracri, & studio flagranti, & doctrinâ eximiâ & memoriâ singulari. 3. de Orat. n. 229, 230.

[y] Post consulatum . . summum illud suum studium remisit, quo à puero fuerat incensus: atque in omnium rerum abundantiâ voluit beatiùs, ut ipse putabat, remissiùs certè, vivere. Primus, & secundus annus, & tertius tantum quasi de picturæ veteris colore detraxerat, quantum non quivis unus ex populo, sed existimator doctus & intelligens posset cognoscere. Longiùs autem procedens, & in cæteris eloquentiæ partibus, tum maximè in celeritate & continuatione verborum adhærescens; sui dissimilior videbatur fieri quotidie. Brut. n. 320.

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some difference in his manner of pleading, the first, second, and third years after his consulship; but this was scarce perceivable; and none but the learned could observe it: as happens to pictures, the brightness of whose colours decay insensibly. This declension increased with his years, and, when his fire and vivacity left him, he grew every day more unlike himself.

[z] Cicero, however, redoubling his efforts, made a very great progress, endeavouring to come up with his rival, and even outstrip him, if possible, in that noble career of glory, where pleaders are allowed to dispute the palm with their best friends. A new species of Eloquence, beautiful as well as energetic, which he introduced in the Bar, drew people's eyes upon him, and made him the object of public admiration. He himself gives an excellent picture of this, but in a curious and delicate manner; by observing what was wanting in others, and shewing by that means what was admired in himself. I shall transcribe the whole passage, because youth may therein see all the parts which form this great orator.

"[a] No person at that time, says Cicero, made "polite literature his particular study, without which "there is no perfect Eloquence: no one studied phi-

[z] Nos autem non desistebamus, cùm omni genere exercitationis, tum maximè stilo, nostrum illud quod erat augere: quantumcumque erat... Nam cùm propter assiduitatem in causis, & industriam, tum propter exquisitius & minimè vulgare orationis genus, animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate converteram. n. 521.

[a] Nihil de me dicam; dicam de cæteris, quorum nemo erat qui videretur exquisitiùs quàm vulgus hominum studuisse literis, quibus fons perfectæ eloquentiæ continetur; nemo, qui philosophiam complexus esset, matrem omnium benè factorum benèque dictorum: nemo, qui jus civile didicisset, rem ad privatas causas, & ad oratoris prudentiam, maximè necessariam: nemo, qui memoriam rerum Romanarum teneret, ex qua, si quando opus esset, ab inferis locupletissimos testes excitaret: nemo, qui breviter argutèque incluso adversario, laxaret judicum animos, atque à severitate paulisper ad hilaritatem risumque traduceret: nemo, qui dilatare posset, atque à propriâ ac definitâ disputatione hominis ac temporis ad communem quæstionem universi generis orationem traduceret: nemo, qui delectandi gratiâ digredi parumper à causâ: nemo, qui ad iracundiam magnoperè judicem, nemo, qui ad fletum posset adducere: nemo qui animum ejus (quod unum est oratoris maximè proprium) quocumque res postularet, impelleret. Brut. n. 322.

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" losophy thoroughly, which alone teaches us at one " and the same time, to live and speak well: no one " learned the civil law, which is absolutely necessary " for an orator, to enable him to plead well in pri- " vate causes, and form a true judgment of public " affairs: there was no person well skilled in the Ro- " man history, or able to make a proper use of it in " pleading: no one could raise a cheerfulness in the " judges, and unruffle them, as it were, by season- " able railleries, after having vigorously pushed his " adversary, by the strength and solidity of his argu- " ments; no one had the art of transferring or con- " verting the circumstance of a private affair into a " common or general one: no person could some- " times depart from his subject by prudent digres- " sions, to throw in the agreeable into his discourse: " in fine, no person could incline the judges some- " times to anger, sometimes to compassion; and in- " spire them with whatever sentiments he pleased, " wherein, however, the principal merit of an ora- " tor consists."

[*b*] Cicero's great success roused Hortensius from his lethargy, especially when he saw him promoted to the consulate: fearing, no doubt, that now he was equal to him in dignity, he would surpass him in merit. They afterwards pleaded together for twelve years, lived in great unity, and had an esteem for one another, each exalting the other much above himself. But the public gave the preference to Cicero without hesitation.

[*c*] The latter orator tells us the reason why Hortensius was more agreeable to the public in his youth, than in his advanced years. He gave into a florid kind

[*b*] Itaque, cùm jam penè evanuisset Hortensius, & ego consul factus essem, revocare se ad industriam cœpit: ne, cùm pares honore essemus, aliquâ re superior viderer. Sic duodecim post meum consulatum annos in maximis causis cùm ego mihi illum, sibi me ille anteferret conjunctissimè versati sumus. Brut. n. 313.

[*c*] Si quærimus cur adolescens magis floruerit dicendo, quàm senior Hortensius: causas reperiemus verissimas duas. Primùm, quòd genus erat orationis Asiaticum, adolescentiæ magis concessum, quàm senectuti.

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kind of Eloquence, enriched with happy expressions; a great beauty and delicacy of thought, which was often more shining than solid; an uncommon correctness, justness and elegance. His discourses thus, laboured with infinite care and art, supported by a musical voice, an agreeable action, and an exquisite utterance, were extremely pleasing in a young man, and at first engrossed the applause of all men. But afterwards this kind of gay Eloquence became unseasonable, because the weight of the public employments he had passed through, and the maturity of his years, required something more grave and serious. He was always the same orator, had always the same style, but not the same success. Besides, as his ardor for study was very much abated, and he did not take so much pains as formerly, the thoughts, which till then had brightened his pieces, having no longer their former embellishment, but appearing with a negligent air, lost most of their splendor, and by that means made the orator sink very much in his reputation.

REFLECTIONS UPON WHAT HAS BEEN SAID ON THIS SUBJECT.

The bare relation I have made of the conduct of the great orators of antiquity, will sufficiently point out to youth designed for the Bar, the path they are to follow, if they propose to attain the same end.

senectuti . . . Itaque Hortensius hoc genere florens, clamores faciebat adolescens. . . . Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus. . . Vox canora & suavis: motus & gestus etiam plus artis habebat quàm erat oratori satis. Habebat illud studium crebrarum venustarumque sententiarum: in quibus erant quædam magis venustæ dulcesque sententiæ, quàm aut necessariæ, aut interdum utiles. Et erat oratio cùm incitata & vibrans, tum etiam accurata & polita. . . Etsi genus illud dicendi auctoritatis habebat parum, tamen aptum esse ætati videbatur. Et certè, quòd ingenii quædam forma lucebat . . . summam hominum admirationem excitabat. Sed cùm jam honores, & illa senior auctoritas gravius quiddam requireret; remanebat idem, nec decebat idem. Quodque exercitationem studiumque dimiserat, quod in eo fuerat acerrimum, concinnitas illa crebritasque sententiarum pristina manebat, sed ea vestitu illo orationis, quo consueverat, ornata non erat. Brut. 325, 326, 327, & 330.

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1. The first and principal thing they must do, is to form a grand idea of their profession. For, though it does not now lead to the chief employments in the state, as formerly at Athens and at Rome; yet what esteem does it not gain those who distinguish themselves in it, either in pleading or giving counsel? [d] Can any thing delight a private man more, than to see his house frequented by persons of the greatest rank, and even by princes, who in all their doubts and necessities resort to him as to an oracle, to pay homage to his profession and extraordinary abilities, and to acknowledge a superiority of learning and prudence, which riches and grandeur cannot bestow? Is there any finer sight, than to see a numerous auditory attentive, immoveable, and, as it were, hanging on the lips of a pleader, who manages speech, seemingly common to all, with so much art, that he charms and ravishes the minds of his hearers, and makes himself absolute master over them? But besides this glory, which would be trifling enough were there no other motive; what solid joy is it for a virtuous man to think he has received a talent from God, which makes him the sanctuary of the unfortunate, the protector of justice; and enables him to defend the lives, fortunes, and honours of his brethren?

2. A natural consequence of this first reflection, is, that those designed for the Bar should prepare themselves for a profession of such great importance, and imitate, at least at a distance, the passion and indefa-

[d] Quid est præclarius, quàm honoribus & reipublicæ muneribus perfunctum senem, posse suo jure dicere idem, quod apud Ennium dicat ille Pythius Apollo, se eum esse, UNDE sibi non POPULI ET REGES, at omnes sui cives CONSILIUM EXPETANT, SUARUM RERUM INCERTI: QUOS EGO MEA OPE EX INCERTIS CERTOS, COMPOTESQUE CONSILII DIMITTO, UT NE RES TEMERE TRACTENT TURBIDAS.
Est enim sine dubio domus jurisconsulti totius oraculum civitatis. 1. de Orat. n. 166, 200.

Ulla-ne tanta ingentium opum ac magnæ potentiæ voluptas, quam spectare homines veteres & senes, & totius urbis gratiâ subnixos, in summâ omnium rerum abundantiâ, confitentes id quod optimum sit se non habere? Dialog. de Orat. n. 6.

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tigable warmth of Demosthenes and Cicero. [e] I am convinced, that a genius is the first and most necessary quality for a pleader; but I am also certain, that study is of great service. 'Tis like a second nature, and if it does not impart a genius to him who had none before, it however rectifies, polishes, improves, and invigorates it. And Cicero had great reason to insist very much upon this article, and to assert, that every thing in Eloquence depends on the care, the pains, the application and vigilance of the orator.

3. The knowledge of the law, and its different customs, form properly the science of the lawyer; and to pretend to plead without those advantages, is to attempt the raising of a great building, without laying a foundation.

4. The talent of speaking constitutes an orator; it is, as it were, the instrument which enables him to make use of all the rest. But, in my opinion, it is not enough cultivated. Whether it be the effect of idleness, or a confidence in ourselves, we generally think genius alone will enable us to excel in it. But Cicero is of another opinion. His endeavours to attain perfection in this particular, would seem incredible, did not he himself attest it in several places. He should be the model to youth, in this and every thing else. To imbibe Rhetoric from the very fountain, to consult able masters, to read carefully the ancients and moderns, to be constantly employed in composing and translating, and to make his language a particular study: these were the exercises which Cicero thought necessary to form the great orator.

5. But of all the qualifications of an orator, action and utterance are the most neglected; and yet nothing contributes more towards giving success to speeches.

[e] Cùm ad inveniendum in dicendo tria sint, acumen, ratio, diligentia; non possum equidem non ingenio primas concedere: sed tamen ipsum ingenium diligentia etiam extarditate incitat. . . . Hæc præcipuè colenda est nobis; hæc semper adhibenda; hæc nihil est quod non assequatur. . . . Reliqua sunt in curâ, attentione animi, cogitatione, vigilantiâ, assiduitate, labore; complectar uno verbo, quo sæpe jam usi sumus, diligentiâ; quâ unâ virtute omnes virtutes reliquæ continentur. 2. de Orat. n. 147, 148, 150.

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[f] That external Eloquence, as Cicero calls it, which is adapted to the capacities of all auditors, in regard it speaks to the senses only, has something so enchanting and dazzling, that it often supplies the place of every other merit, and sets a lawyer of no great parts above those of the gteatest abilities. [g] Every one has heard the celebrated answer of Demosthenes, concerning the qualification which he thought most necessary in an orator, the want whereof could least be concealed, and which at the same time was best adapted to conceal the rest. This induced him to make incredible efforts to succeed in it. Cicero imitated him in that, as in every thing else; and he was in some measure obliged to it, from the desire he had to equal Hortensius, who excelled in that particular. The example of both ought to have great weight with young lawyers.

6. A great many of these, in my opinion, want a certain quintessence of polite literature and erudition, which embellish, however, and enrich the understanding vastly, and diffuse a delicacy and beauty over discourse, which it can have from no other source. The reading of ancient authors, the Greeks especially, is very much neglected. How closely did Cicero study them? orators, poets, historians, philosophers, he was acquainted with them all, and made them all of service to him; and the latter more than the rest. Young lawyers ought not to attempt pleading too soon, but should employ their time, at their first setting out, in acquiring a valuable and necessary fund of knowledge, which cannot be attained afterwards. I own the practice of the Bar is the best master, and most capable of making them great lawyers; but it should not consist, at first, in frequent pleading. There we listen assiduously to great orators, we study their ge-

[f] Est actio quasi corporis quædam eloquentia. Nam & infantes actionis dignitate, eloquentiæ sæpe fructum tulerunt: & diserti, deformitate agendi, multi infantes putati sunt. Orat. n. 55, 56.

[g] Actio in dicendo unâ dominatur. Sine hâc summus orator esse in numero nullo potest: mediocris, hâc instructus, summos sæpe superare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum: huic secundas, huic tertias. 3. de Orat. n. 213.

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nius, we observe their action, we are attentive to the opinions which the learned give of them; and thus we endeavour to improve equally by their perfections and defects.

7. If it should be asked, what is the proper age for being called to the Bar, and pleading at it? I answer, that is a thing which cannot be brought to any fixed rule: and Quintilian's advice upon it is very prudent. "[h] A medium, says he, must be observed; so that "a youth should not expose himself in public before "he is capable of doing it with advantage: nor make "a parade of his knowledge, while it is crude and in-"digested, if I may use the expression: for by that "means he will despise pains and study; impudence "takes deep root in him; and, what is a greater "misfortune, confidence and boldness, precede vi-"gour and strength. But he must not, on the other "hand, wait till he grows old, for then he will grow "more timid every day: and the longer he delays, "the more fearful he will be to venture to speak in "public: so that, whilst he is deliberating whether "it is time to begin, he finds it is too late."

8. It were very much to be wished, that the custom observed formerly among the Romans, should take place among us: and that the houses of old lawyers should be, as it were, the school of the youth designed for the Bar. What can be more worthy a great orator, than to conclude the glorious course of his pleading, by so honourable a function? [i] We shall see, says Quintilian, a whole company of studious young people frequenting his house, and consulting him upon the

[h] Modus mihi videtur quidam tenendus, ut neque præproperè distringatur immatura frons, & quicquid est illud adhuc acerbum proferatur. Nam inde & contemptus operis innascitur, & fundamenta jaciuntur impudentiæ, & (quod est ubique perniciosissimum) prævenit vires fiducia. Nec rursus differendum est tyrocinium in senectutem. Nam quotidie metus crescit, majusque fit semper quod ausuri sumus: &, dum deliberamus quando incipiendum sit, incipere jam serum est. Quint. l. 12. c. 6.

[i] Frequentabunt ejus domum optimi juvenes more veterum: & veram dicendi viam velut ex oraculo petent. Hos ille formabit quasi eloquentiæ parens, &, ut vetus gubernator, littora, & portus & quæ tempestatum signa, quid secundis flatibus, quid adversis ratis poscat, docebit. Quint. l. 12. c. 11.

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proper methods of speaking. He forms them, as though he were the father of Eloquence; and, like an old experienced pilot, points out to them the course they are to steer, and the rocks they must shun, when he sees them ready to set sail.

ARTICLE III.

OF THE LAWYER'S MORALS.

I DID not think proper to conclude this little treatise on the Eloquence of the Bar, without saying something of the lawyer's morals, and the chief qualifications requisite to his profession. Youth will find this subject treated in all the extent it deserves, in the twelfth book of Quintilian's Institutions, which is the most elaborate and most useful part of his work.

I. PROBITY.

Cicero and Quintilian lay it down as an indisputable principle, in several parts of their works, that Eloquence should not be separated from probity; that the talent of speaking well supposes and requires that of living well; and that to be an orator, a man must be virtuous, agreeable to Cato's definition: *Orator vir bonus dicendi peritus.* [k] Without this, says Quintilian, Eloquence, which is the most beautiful gift that nature can bestow upon man, and by which she has distinguished him, in a particular manner from other living creatures, would prove a fatal present to him; and be so far from doing him any service, that she would treat him as a step-mother, and like an enemy, rather than a mother, in imparting a talent to him for

[k] Si vis illa dicendi malitiam instruxerit, nihil sit publicis privatisque rebus perniciosius eloquentiâ. . . . Rerum ipsa natura, in eo quod præcipuè indulsisse homini videtur, quoque nos à cæteris animalibus seperasse, non parens, sed noverca fuerit, si facultatem dicendi sociam scelerum, adversam innocentiæ, hostem veritatis invenit. Mutos enim nasci, & egere omni ratione satius fuisset, quàm providentiæ munera in mutuam perniciem convertere. Quint. l. 12. c. 1.

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no other end, but to oppress innocence, and fight against truth, like the putting a sword into the hands of a madman. It would be better, adds he, that a man should be destitute of speech, and even of reason, than to employ them to such pernicious ends.

The slightest attention will discover how necessary honesty is to a pleader. His whole design is to persuade; [*l*] and the surest way of affecting it is to prepossess the judge in his favour, so that he may look upon him as a man of veracity and candour, full of honour and sincerity; who may be entirely trusted; is a mortal enemy to a lie, and incapable of tricks and cunning. In his pleadings, he should appear not only with the zeal of an advocate, but with the authority of a witness. The reputation he has acquired of being an honest man, will give great weight to his arguments: whereas, when an orator is disesteemed, or even suspected by the judges, it is an unhappy omen to the cause.

II. DISINTERESTEDNESS.

[*m*] The question treated by Quintilian, in the last book of his Rhetoric, whether lawyers ought to plead without fees or gratuity, does not square with the manners or customs of our days; but the principles he there lays down suit all ages and times.

[*n*] He begins with declaring, that it would be infinitely more noble and becoming men of so honourable a profession, not to sell their service, nor debase the merit of so great a benefit, since most things may seem contemptible, when a price is set upon them.

[*l*] Plurimum ad omnia momenti est in hoc positum, si vir bonus creditur. Sic enim continget, ut non studium advocati videatur afferre, sed penè testis fidem. Quint. l. 4. c. 1.

Sic proderit plurimum causis, quibus ex suâ bonitate faciet fidem. Nam qui, dum dicit, malus videtur, utique malè dicit. L. 6. c. 3.

Videtur talis advocatus malæ causæ argumentum. L. 12. c. 1.

[*m*] Quint. l. 12. c. 7.

[*n*] Quis ignorat quin id longè sit honestissimum, ac liberalibus disciplinis & illo quem exigimus animo dignissimum, non vendere operam, nec elevare tanti beneficii auctoritatem! cùm pleraque hoc ipso possint videri vilia, quòd pretium habent.

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[o] He afterwards owns, that if a lawyer has not estate enough of his own, he is then allowed, by the laws of all wise legislators, to accept some gratuity from the party he pleads for; since no acquisition can be more just than that which proceeds from such honest labour, and is given by those for whom we have performed such important services; and who would certainly be very unworthy, if they failed to acknowledge them. Besides, as the time which a lawyer bestows upon other people's affairs prevents him from thinking of his own, it is not only just, but necessary, he should not lose by his profession.

[p] But Quintilian would have the lawyer, even in this case, keep within very narrow bounds; and be very watchful in observing the person from whom he receives any gratuity, together with the quantity, and time during which he receives it. By which he seems to insinuate, that the poor should be served *gratis*, and that he should take but moderately even from the rich: in fine, that the lawyer should forbear receiving any gratuity, after he has acquired a reasonable fortune.

[q] He must never look upon what his clients offer him, as though it were a payment or a salary, but as a mark of friendship and acknowledgment; well knowing he does infinitely more for them than they do for him; and he must make this use of it, because a good office of that kind ought neither to be sold nor lost.

[o] At si res familiaris ampliùs aliquid ad usus necessarios exigit, secundùm omnes sapientium leges patietur sibi gratiam referri. . . Neque enim video quæ justior acquirendi ratio, quam ex honestissimo labore, & ab iis de quibus optimè meruerint, quique, si nihil invicem præstent, indigni fuerint defensione. Quod quidem non justum modò, sed necessarium etiam est, cùm hæc ipsa opera, tempusque omne alienis negotiis datum, facultatem aliter acquirendi recidant.

[p] Sed tum quoque tenendus est modus: ac plurimùm refert & à quo accipiat, & quantum, & quousque. . . . Nec quisquam, qui sufficientia sibi (modica autem hæc sunt) possidebit, hunc quæstum sine crimine sordidum fecerit.

[q] Nihil ergo acquirere volet orator ultra quàm satis erit: nec pauper quidem tanquam mercedem accipiet, sed mutuâ benevolentiâ utetur, cum sciat se tanto plus præstitisse; quia nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.

As

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[r] As to the custom of making agreements with clients, and taxing them in proportion to the nature of the cause, and the risque they run; it is, says Quintilian, an abominable kind of traffic, fitter for a pirate than an orator, and which even those who have but a slender love for virtue, will avoid.

Far therefore from the Bar, and so glorious a profession, says he in another place, be those mean and mercenary souls who make a trade of Eloquence, and think of nothing but sordid gain. The precepts, says he, which I give concerning this art, do not suit any person who would be capable of computing how much he shall gain by his labours and study.

If a heathen has such noble sentiments and expressions, how much more glorious and disinterested should the views of a lawyer be according to the principles of Christianity? And indeed we see this spirit prevail among the lawyers of France. They are so delicate in this point, as to debar themselves from bringing any actions for payments of their fees; and this they carry so far, that they would disown any member of their profession, who should commence any suit, or retain his client's papers, in order to oblige him to make some acknowledgment for the assistance he had given him.

III. A DELICACY IN THE CHOICE OF CAUSES.

[s] As soon as we suppose the orator a worthy man, it is plain he can never undertake a cause he knows to be unjust. Justice and truth only have a right to the assistance of his voice. Guilt has no title to it, what

[r] Pacifcendi quidem ille piraticus mos, & imponentium periculis pretia procul abominanda negotiatio, etiam mediocriter improbis aberit.

Neque enim nobis operis amor est: nec, quia sit honesta atque pulcherrima rerum eloquentia, petitur ipsa, sed ad vilem usum & sordidum lucrum accingimur. . . . Ne velim quidem lectorem dari mihi qui studia referant computaturum. Quint. l. 1. c. 20.

[s] Non convenit ei quem oratorem esse volumus, injusta tueri scientem. . . Neque defendet omnes orator: idemque portum illum eloquentiæ suæ salutarem, non etiam piratis patefaciet, ducetque in advocationem maximè causâ. Quint. l. 12. c. 7.

splendor

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splendor or credit soever it may appear to have. His Eloquence is a sanctuary for virtue only, and a safe haven for all, except pirates.

[*t*] Before therefore a man discharges the function of a lawyer, let him perform that of a judge: let him raise a kind of domestic tribunal in his closet, and there carefully, and without prejudice, weigh and examine the arguments of his clients, and pronounce a severe judgment against them, in case it be necessary.

[*u*] If even, in the course of the affair, he happens, by a stricter enquiry into the title, to discover, that the cause he undertook, supposing it honest, is unjust; he then must give his client notice of it, and not abuse him any longer with vain hopes; and advise him not to prosecute a suit, which would prove very fatal to him, even though he should gain it. If he submits to his advice, he will do him great service; if he despises it, he is unworthy of any farther assistance from his lawyer.

IV. PRUDENCE AND MODERATION IN PLEADING.

These virtues are chiefly necessary on account of decency. There are certain polite and becoming rules in this point, which every orator and every gentleman should observe inviolably. It is not necessary to remark that it [*x*] would be inhumane to insult people in disgrace, when their very condition entitles them to compassion, and who besides may be unfortunate, without being criminal. [*y*] In general, our

[*t*] Sic causam perscrutatus, propositis ante oculos omnibus quæ prosint noceant-ve, personam deinde induat judicis, fingatque apud se agi causam. Quint. l. 12. c. 8.

[*u*] Neque verò pudor obstet, quominus susceptam, cùm melior videretur, litem, cognitâ inter disceptandum iniquitate, dimittat, cùm priùs litigatori dixerit verum. Nam & in hoc maximum, si æqui judices sumus, beneficium est, ut non fallamus vanâ spe litigantem. Neque est dignus operâ patroni, qui non utitur consilio. Ib. c. 7.

[*x*] Adversus miseros inhumanus est jocus.

[*y*] * Lædere nunquam velimus, longèque absit propositum illud, potius amicum quàm dictum perdidi. Quint. l. 6. c. 4.

* *I am of opinion, that it ought to be read so, instead of* ludere, *as it is in all the editions.*

raillery

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raillery should be inoffensive; and we must take care not to fall into the same error with those, who would lose a friend rather than a jest.

[z] There is nothing but moderation in using jests, and prudence in applying them, that distinguish an orator, in this respect, from a buffoon. The latter uses them at all times, and without any occasion: whereas the orator does it seldom, and always for some reason essential to his cause, and never barely to raise [a] laughter; which is a very trifling kind of pleasure, and argues a mean genius.

[b] Repartees give occasion sometimes for delicate raillery; so much the more sprightly, as it is concise; and as it flies in an instant like a dart, piercing almost before perceived. These pleasantries, which are neither studied nor prepared, are much more graceful than those we bring from our closets, which often, for that very reason, appear frigid and puerile. Besides, the adversary has no reason to complain, because he brought the raillery upon himself, and can impute it to nothing but his own imprudence. [c] *Why do you bark?* said Philip one day to Catulus, alluding to his name, and the great noise he made in pleading; *Because I see a thief*, answered Catulus.

[d] Repartees of this kind require a great presence and celerity of mind, if we may use the expression; for they afford no time for reflection; and the blow

[z] Temporis ratio, & ipsius dicacitatis moderatio, & temperantia, & raritas dictorum, distinguit oratorem à scurrâ: & quod nos cum causâ dicimus, non ut ridiculi videamur, sed ut proficiamus aliquid; illi totum diem, & sine causâ. 2. de Orat. n. 2. 247.

[a] Risum quæsivit: qui est, meâ sententiâ, vel tenuissimus ingenii fructus. Ibid.

[b] Dicacitas posita est in hâc veluti jaculatione verborum, & inclusa breviter urbanitate. Quint. l. 6. c. 4.

Ante illud facetè dictum hærere debet, quam cogitari posse videatur. 2. de Orat. n. 219.

Omnia probabiliora sunt, quæ lacessiti dicimus, quam quæ priores. Nam & ingenii celeritas major est quæ apparet in respondendo, & humanitatis est responsio. Videremur enim quieturi fuisse, nisi essemus lacessiti. 2. de Orat. n. 230.

Quæsita, nec ex tempore ficta, sed domo allata, plerumque sunt frigida. Orat. n. 89.

[c] Catulus, dicenti Philippo, QUID LATRAS? FUREM, inquit, VIDEO. 2. de Orat. n. 220.

[d] Opus est imprimis ingenio veloci ac mobili, animo præsenti & acri. Non enim cogitandum, sed dicendum statim est, & propè sub conatu adversarii manus erigenda. Quint. l. 6. c. 5.

must

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must be given the instant we are attacked. But they require great prudence and moderation. [e] For how much must a man be master of his temper, to suppress even in the very heat of action or debate, a smart saying and joke which starts up on a sudden, and might do us honour; but would at the same time offend persons whom we are obliged to treat with deference; The way to succeed in it, is to slight, and not pique ourselves upon so dangerous a talent; and to acquire a habit of speaking moderately and with caution, in conversation and common life.

If a lawyer is not allowed to use harsh and offensive raillery, with how much more reason ought he to abstain from gross language? [f] This is an inhumane kind of pleasure, unworthy of a gentleman, and which must necessarily disgust a prudent auditor. Yet some clients, often more solicitous to revenge than defend themselves, extort this kind of Eloquence from the orator: and are not pleased with him, if he does not dip his pen in the bitterest gall. But who is the lawyer, if he has any sentiments of honour or probity left, that would thus blindly gratify the spleen and resentment of his client; become violent and passionate at his nod, and make himself the unworthy minister of another's foolish rage, from a sordid spirit of avarice or a mistaken desire of false glory?

V. WISE EMULATION REMOTE FROM MEAN AND LOW JEALOUSY.

No place, in my opinion, is more proper to excite and cherish a lively and prudent emulation, than the Bar. It is a great concourse of people in whom the

[e] Hominibus facetis & dicacibus difficillimum est habere hominum rationem & temporem, & ea quæ occurrant, cùm salsissimè dici possint, tenere. 2. de Orat. n. 221.

[f] Turpis voluptas, & inhumana, & nulli audientium bono grata; à litigatoribus quidem frequenter exigitur, qui ultionem malunt quàm defensionem. Hoc quidem quis hominum liberi modò sanguinis sustineat, petulans esse ad alterius arbitrium? . . . Orator à viro bono, in rabulam latratoremque convertitur, compositus, non ad animum judicis, sed ad stomachum litigatoris. Quint. l. 12. c. 9.

most

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most valuable qualities are united; such as beauty and force of genius, delicacy of wit, solidity of judgment, a refined taste, a vast extent of knowledge, and long experience. There we see combats fought every day between famous champions, in the presence of learned and judicious magistrates, and amidst an extraordinary concourse of spectators, drawn thither by the importance of the affairs, and the reputation of the speakers. There Eloquence exhibits herself in every shape; in one, grave and serious; in another, sprightly and gay; sometimes unprepared and negligent; at others in her finest attire, and arrayed with all her ornaments; diffusive or contracted, soft or strong, sublime and majestic, or more simple and familiar, as causes vary. Not a single word is there lost; no beauty, no defect, escape the attentive and intelligent auditors; and whilst the judges on one hand, with the scale in their hands, in the presence and in the name of Supreme Justice, determine the fate of private persons; the public, on the other, in a tribunal no less inaccessible to favour, determine concerning the merit and reputation of lawyers, and pass a sentence from which there is no appeal.

Nothing, in my opinion, can raise the glory of the Bar more, than to see such a spirit of equity and moderation prevail in the body of lawyers, as gives every one his due, and banishes all jealousy and envy, and that amidst all those exercises which are so capable of fomenting self-love; and when the ancient lawyers, almost upon the point of quitting the lists, in which they have been so frequently crowned, joyfully see a new swarm of young orators entering, in order to succeed them in their labours, and support the honour of a profession that is still dear to them, and for which they cannot forbear interesting themselves; and when the latter, so far from suffering themselves to be dazzled by their growing reputation, pay a great deference to their seniors, and respect them as their fathers and masters; in a word, when the same emulation prevails among the young lawyers, which was seen formerly between

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between Hortensius and Cicero, of which the latter has left us a fine description. [g] I was very far, says he, speaking of Hortensius, from looking upon him as an enemy, or a dangerous rival. I loved and esteemed him as the spectator and companion of my glory. I was sensible how advantageous it was for me to have such an adversary, and the honour which accrued to me from having sometimes an opportunity to dispute the victory with him. Neither of us ever opposed the other's interest. It was a pleasure to us to assist one another, by communicating our lights, giving advice mutually, and supporting each other by reciprocal esteem; which had such an effect, that each placed his friend above himself.

The Bar therefore may be an excellent school for young lawyers, not only with regard to Eloquence, but to virtue, if they are capable of improving by the good examples it affords. They are young and unexperienced, and consequently ought to determine little, but to hear and consult very much. How great soever their understandings or abilities may be, they yet ought to be very modest. This virtue, which is the ornament of their age, at the same time that it seems to conceal, sets off their merit the more. But above all, they should shun that mean kind of jealousy which is tortured at another's glory and reputation; that ought to [h] form the bond of friendship and unity. They must, I say, shun jealousy, as the most

[g] Dolebam quòd non, ut plerique putabant, adversarium aut obtrectatorem laudum mearum, sed socium potiùs & consortem gloriosi laboris amiseram. . . . Quo enim animo ejus mortem ferre debui, cùm quo certare erat gloriosius, quàm omnino adversarium non habere? cum præsertim non modò nunquam sit, aut illius à me cursus impeditus, aut ab illo meus, sed contrà semper alter ab altero adjutus & communicando, & monendo, & favendo. Brut. n. 2, 3.

Sic duodecim post meum consulatum annos in maximis causis, cùm ego mihi illum, sibi me ille anteferret, conjunctissimè versati sumus. Ibid. n. 323.

[h] Æqualitas vestra, & artium studiorumque quasi finitima vicinitas, tantum abest ab obtrectatione invidiæ, quæ solet lacerare plerosque, uti ea non modò non exulcerare vestram gratiam, sed etiam conciliare videatur. Brut. n. 156.

shameful

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shameful of vices, the most unworthy a man of honour, and the greatest enemy to society.

SECT. IV.

OF THE ELOQUENCE OF THE PULPIT.

SAINT Austin, in his excellent work, called *the Christian Doctrine*, which we cannot recommend too much to the professors of Rhetoric, distinguishes two things in the Christian orator; what he says, and his manner of saying it; the things in themselves, and the method of discussing them, which he calls *sapienter dicere, eloquenter dicere.* I will begin with the latter, and conclude with the former.

PART I.

OF THE MANNER IN WHICH A PREACHER OUGHT TO DELIVER HIMSELF.

[*i*] SAINT Austin, pursuant to Cicero's plan of the duties of an orator, tells us they consist in instructing, pleasing, and moving the passions. *Dixit quidam eloquens, & verum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat* [*k*]. He repeats the same thing in other terms, saying, the Christian orator must speak in such a manner as to be heard *intelligenter, libenter, obedienter: viz.* that we should comprehend what he says, hear it with pleasure, and consent to what he would persuade us. [*l*] For preaching has three ends: That the truth should be known to us, should be heard with pleasure, and move us. *Vt veritas pateat, ut veritas placeat, ut veritas moveat.* I shall pursue the same plan, and go through the three duties of a Christian orator.

[*i*] De Doctr. Chr. l. 4. n. 27. [*l*] De Doctr. Chr. n. 61.
[*k*] N. 30.

I. DUTY

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I. DUTY OF A PREACHER.

To instruct, and for that End to speak clearly.

Since the preacher speaks in order to instruct, and has equal obligations to all, to the ignorant and the poor, as much, and perhaps more, than to the learned and the rich; his chief care should be to make himself clearly understood: every thing must contribute to this end: the disposition, the thoughts, the expression, and the utterance.

It is a vicious taste in some orators, [*m*] to imagine they are very profound, when much is required to comprehend them. They do not consider, that every discourse which wants an interpreter, is a very bad one. [*n*] The supreme perfection in a preacher's style should be to please the unlearned as well as the learned, by exhibiting an abundance of beauties for the latter, and being very perspicuous for the former. But in case those advantages cannot be united, [*o*] St. Austin would have us sacrifice the first to the second, and neglect ornaments, and even purity of diction, if it will contribute to make us more intelligible; because it is for that end we speak. This sort of neglect, which requires some genius and art, as [*p*] he observes after Cicero, and which proceeds from our being more attentive to things than to words, must not, however, be carried so far as to make the discourse low and grovelling, but only clearer and more intelligible.

St. Austin wrote at first against the Manichees, in a florid and sublime style; whence his writings were

[*m*] Tunc demum ingeniosi scilicet, si ad intelligendos nos opus sit ingenio. Quint. in Prœm. l. 8. c. 2.

Otiosum (*or*, vitiosum) sermonem dixerim, quem auditor suo ingenio non intelligit. Ibid.

[*n*] Ita & sermo doctis probabilis, & planus imperitis erit. Ibid.

[*o*] Cujus evidentiæ diligens appetitus aliquando negligit verba cultiora, nec curat quid benè sonet, sed quid bene indicet atque intimet quod ostendere intendit. Unde ait quidam, cùm de tali genere locutionis ageret, esse in eâ quandam diligentem negligentiam. Hæc tamen sic detrahit ornatum, ut sordes non contrahat. S. August. de Doct. Christ. l. 4. n. 24.

Melius est reprehendant nos grammatici, quàm non intelligant populi. Idem in Psal. cxxxviii.

[*p*] Indicat non ingratam negligentiam, de re hominis magis, quàm de verbis, laborantis. . . . Quædam etiam negligentia est diligens. Orat. n. 77, 78.

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not intelligible to those who had but a moderate share of learning, at least not without great difficulty. [q] Upon this he was told, that if he desired to have his works more generally useful, he must write in the plain and common style, which has this advantage over the other, that it is equally intelligible to the learned and the unlearned. The holy father received this advice with his usual humility, and made proper use of it in the books he afterwards wrote against the heretics, and in his sermons. His example ought to be a rule to all those who are to instruct others.

As obscurity is the fault which the preacher should chiefly avoid, and that his auditors are not allowed to interrupt him, when they meet with any thing obscure; [r] St. Austin advises him to read in the eyes and countenances of his auditors, whether they understand him or not; and to repeat the same thing, by giving it different turns, till he perceives he is understood; an advantage which those cannot have, who, by a servile dependance on their memories, learn their sermons by heart, and repeat them as so many lessons.

[s] That which generally occasions obscurity in discourse, is our endeavouring to explain ourselves always with brevity and conciseness. One had better say too much than too little. A style that is every where sprightly and concise, such as that of Sallust or of Tertullian, for instance, may suit works which are

[q] Me benevolentissimè monuerunt: ut communem loquendi consuetudinem non desererem, si errores illos tam perniciosos ab animis etiam imperitorum expellere cogitarem. Hunc enim sermonem usitatum & simplicem etiam docti intelligunt, illum autem indocti non intelligunt. De Gen. contra Manich. l. 1. c. 1.

[r] Ubi omnes tacent ut audiatur unus, & in eum intenta ora convertunt, ibi ut requirat quisque quod non intellexerit, nec moris est, nec decoris: ac per hoc debet maximè tacenti subvenire cura dicentis. Solet autem motu suo significare utrùm intellexerit cognoscendi avida multitudo; quod donec significet, versandum est quod agitur multimodâ varietate dicendi: quod in potestate non habent, qui præparata & ad verbum memoriter retenta pronunciant. S. Aug. de Doctr. Christ. l. 4. n. 25.

[s] Cavenda, quæ nimiùm corripientes omnia sequitur, obscuritas; satiusque est aliquid (orationi) superesse, quàm deesse. . . Vitanda illa Sallustiana (quanquam in ipso virtutis locum obtinet) brevitas, & abruptum sermonis genus, quod otiosum fortassè lectorem minùs fallit, audientem transvolat, nec dum repetatur exspectat. Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

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not intended to be spoken, and give the reader time and liberty to read them over and over again; but it is not proper for a sermon, the rapidity of which might escape the most attentive auditor. [t] It must not even be supposed, that he is always so; and consequently the discourse ought to be so clear, as to reach even the most unattentive, in like manner as the sun strikes our eyes, without our thinking of it, and almost in spite of us. The supreme effect of this quality does not consist in making ourselves understood, but in speaking in such a manner that we cannot be misunderstood.

THE NECESSITY OF PERSPICUITY IN CATECHISTS.

The necessity of the principle I have now laid down, appears in its greatest evidence with regard to the first instructions given to young people, which I look upon as a primary kind of preaching, more difficult than is generally imagined, and oftentimes more useful than the brightest and most laboured discourses. It is allowed that a catechist, who teaches children the first elements of religion, cannot be too clear and intelligible. No thought or expression should fall from him, above their capacities. Every thing ought to be adapted to their strength, or rather to their weakness. We must say but few things to them, express them clearly, and repeat them often; we must not speak hastily, or with rapidity, but pronounce every syllable articulately; give them short and clear definitions, and always in the same words; make the several truths evident to them by known examples, and familiar comparisons; speak little to them, and make them speak a great deal; which is one of the

[t] Idipsum in consilio est habendum, non semper tam esse acrem (auditoris) intentionem, ut obscuritatem apud se ipse discutiat, & tenebris orationis inferat quoddam intelligentiæ suæ lumen; sed multis cum frequenter cogitationibus avocari, nisi tam clara fuerint quæ dicemus, ut in animum ejus oratio, ut sol in oculos, etiamsi non intendatur, incurrat. Quare, non ut intelligere possit, sed ne omnino possit non intellgere, curandum. Quint. l. 8. c. 2.

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most essential duties of a catechist, and the least practised; and above all, must call to mind the happy saying of Quintilian, [u] that a child's mind is like a vessel with a narrow neck, in which no water will enter, if poured abundantly into it; whereas it fills insensibly, if the liquid be poured gently, or even by drops. The catechist must proceed gradually from these plain steps, to something stranger and more elevated, according to the proficiency he observes in the children; but he must always take care to adapt himself to their capacity, and their weakness; and to descend to them, because they are not in a condition to raise themselves to him.

This task, which is one of the most important in the ecclesiastical ministry, is not, generally speaking, esteemed or respected enough. People seldom prepare themselves for it with the care it deserves: and as the difficulty and importance of it are little known, we too often neglect the means which might facilitate its success. Whoever takes this charge upon himself, ought to peruse with great attention St. Austin's admirable treatise upon the method of instructing catechumens, in which that great man after laying down excellent rules upon this point, proceeds to propose a plan of the best method (in his opinion) for instructing them in the principles of religion.

I think it would be of great advantage to form a general scheme or plan for catechising in parishes, to serve as a foundation for all the instructions necessary, and regulate both the matter and disposition; so that all the catechisms might contain the same instructions, but treated in a more or less extensive manner, as the children should be more or less improved. These catechisms may be divided into three classes, the first

[u] Magistri hoc opus est, cùm adhuc rudia tractabit ingenia, non statim onerare infirmitatem discentium, sed temperare vires suas, & ad intellectum audientis descendere. Nam ut vascula oris angusti superfusam humoris copium respuunt, sensim autem influentibus, vel etiam instillatis, complentur, sic animi puerorum quantum accipere possint videndum est. Nam majora intellectu velut parùm aptos ad percipiendum animos non subibunt. Quint. l. 1. c. 3.

for

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for beginners, the second for those who have already received some instructions, and the third for such as are more advanced, and are prepared for receiving the first communion, or have lately received it. I suppose children to continue in each class about two years; in which time, the plan I have now mentioned, be it what it will, is to be explained to them (for it is highly reasonable to leave it to the choice and prudence of the person who is at the head of the catechists) always subjoining the catechism of the diocese. The matters should at first be treated briefly, and in general terms, because they are calculated for children. M. Fleury's catechism is excellent for beginners, and may be looked upon as the execution of the plan which St. Augustine gives us in his treatise. The same matters are repeated in the second and third classes; but in a new method, which is always an improvement of that which preceeded, by adding to it new lights, and more efficacious truths. Would not religion be thus taught thoroughly? I have seen some children, even among the poor, make surprisingly clear responses upon very difficult subjects, which could be owing to nothing but the master's order and method of teaching, and which shews, that young people are capable of every thing, when they are well instructed.

I own that nothing is more tedious or distasteful to a man of genius, who has often a great deal of vivacity, than thus to teach the first principles of religion to children, who very often want either capacity or attention. But must not others have had the same patience with us, when they taught us the alphabet, orthography, and the joining of words; and when we ourselves learned the catechism? [x] Is it agreeable to

[x] Num delectat, nisi amor invitet, decurtata & mutilata verba immurmurare? Et tamen optant homines habere infantes quibus id exhibeant: & suavius est matri minuta mansa inspuere parvulo filio, quàm ipsam mandere ac devorare grandiora. Non ergo recedat de pectore etiam cogitatio gallinæ illius, quæ languidulis pennis teneros

to a father, says St. Austin, to stammer out half words with his son, in order to teach him to speak? Yet this gives him great pleasure. Does not a mother take more delight in putting aliment into her infant's mouth, suitable to its weak and tender condition, than to take the nourishment proper for herself? We must perpetually call to mind the tenderness of a hen who covers her young ones with her extended wings; and hearing their feeble cries, calls them with a faltering voice, in order to shelter them from the bird of prey, who unrelentingly snatches away such as do not fly for safety to their mother's wings. [*y*] The love and charity of Christ, who vouchsafed to apply this comparison to himself, has been infinitely more extensive, and it was in imitation of him, that St. Paul [*z*] *made himself weak with the weak, in order to gain the weak;* and had for all the faithful, *the gentleness and* [*a*] *tenderness of a nurse and a mother.*

[*b*] This, says St. Austin, is what we must represent to ourselves, when we are tired or disgusted; when we are weary of descending to the *puerility* and weakness of children; and to repeat incessantly to them the most trite things, and run them over a hundred times. It often happens, continues the same father, that we take a singular pleasure, in shewing friends newly arrived at the city we live in, whatever is beautiful, uncommon, or curious; and the sweetness of friendship diffuses a secret charm over things which would otherwise appear exceeding tiresome, and gives them, as to ourselves, all the graces of novelty. [*c*] Why should not charity produce the same effects in us that friendship does, especially when the

ros fœtus operit, & susurrantes pullos confractâ voce advocat; cujus blandas alas refugientes superbi, præda fiunt alitibus. De Catchis. Rudib. c. 10. & 12.

[*y*] Matt. xxiii. 37.

[*z*] 1 Cor. ix. 22.

[*a*] 1 Thes. ii. 7.

[*b*] Si usitata, & parvulis congruentia sæpe repetere fastidimus. . . . si ad infirmitatem discentium piget descendere . . . cogitemus quid nobis prærogatum sit ab illo. . . *qui, cùm in formâ Dei esset, semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens.* De Catech. Rud. c. 10.

[*c*] Quanto ergo magis delectari noso portet, cùm ipsum Deum jam discere homines accedunt, propter quem discenda sunt, quæcunque discenda sunt? Ibid. c. 12.

thing

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thing proposed tends towards making God himself known to men, who ought to be the end of all our knowledge, and of all our studies?

I thought it my duty to enlarge a little upon the manner of framing catechisms, which is not foreign to the end I propose to myself in this article, *viz.* of instructing youth in what relates to the Eloquence of the Pulpit. It is now time to proceed to the second duty of preachers.

II. DUTY OF A PREACHER.

To please, and for that End, to speak in a florid and polite Manner.

St. Austin recommends to the preacher to endeavour first, and above all things, to be clear and perspicuous, but he does not pretend he must confine himself to that only. He would not have truth divested of the ornaments of speech, which it alone has a right to employ. [*d*] He would have human Eloquence subservient to the word of God, but not the word of God made the slave of human Eloquence. It often happens, that we cannot reach the heart but through the understanding, and that in order to affect the one, we must please the other. [*e*] It is an excellent quality, in his opinion, to love and to search in the words only the things themselves, and not the words: but he owns at the same time, that this quality is very uncommon; that in case truth is represented without ornaments, it will affect very few; [*f*] that speech, like food, must be palatable in order to make it agreeable; and that in both, we must pay a regard to the delicacy of mankind, and gratify their taste in some measure.

[*d*] Nec doctor verbis serviat, sed verba doctori. De Doctr. Christ. l. 4. n. 61.

[*e*] Bonorum ingeniorum insignis est indoles, in verbis verum amare, non verba. . . Quod tamen si fiat insuaviter, ad paucos quidem studiosissimos suus pervenit fructus. De Catech. Rud. n. 26.

[*f*] Sed quoniam inter se habent nonnullam similitudinem vescentes atque discentes, propter fastidia plurimorum etiam ipsa, sine quibus vivi non potest, alimenta condienda sunt. Ibid.

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It was for the same reason that the fathers of the church were far from forbidding those who were called to the ministry of the word, the reading ancient authors and profane learning. [g] St. Austin declares, that all the truths found in heathen authors are our own, and consequently, we have a right to claim them as our property, by taking them out of the hands of those unjust possessors, in order to employ them to a better use. [h] He would have us leave to heathen writers their profane words and superstitious fictions, which every good Christian ought to abominate; after the example of the Israelites, who, by the command of God himself, plundered Egypt of her gold and most precious garments, without touching their idols; and that we should take from the heathen authors, those truths we find in them, and which are, as it were, the silver, the gold, and ornaments of discourse; and clothe our ideas with them, in order to make the one and the other subservient to the preaching of the gospel. [i] He cites a great number of fathers who thus made use of them, in imitation of Moses himself, who was carefully instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.

St. Jerom treats the same topic more at large, in a fine letter [k], where he justifies himself from the reproaches of his adversaries, who imputed it as a crime in him, that he had employed profane learning in his writings. After pointing out several places in the scriptures, where heathen authors are cited, he

[g] De Doctr. Christ. l. 2. n. 6.

[h] Sic doctrinæ omnes gentilium, non solùm simulata & superstitiosa figmenta... quæ unusquisque nostrum duce Christo de societate gentilium exiens debet abominari atque devitare: sed etiam liberales disciplinas usui veritatis aptiores, et quædam morum præcepta utilissima continent... quæ tanquam aurum & argentum debet ab eis auferre christianus ad usum justum prædicandi evangelii. Vestem quoque illorum... accipere atque habere licuerit, in usum convertenda christianum. De Doct. Christ. l. 2. n. 60.

[i] Nonne aspicimus quanto auro & argento & veste suffarcinatus exierit de Ægypto Cyprianus doctor suavissimus, & martyr beatissimus? De Doctr. Christ. n. 61. Vir eloquentiâ pollens & martyrio. S. Hieron.

[k] Quæris cur in opusculis nostris secularium literarum interdum ponamus exempla, & candorem Ecclesiæ Ethnicorum sordibus polluamus? S. Hieron. Epist. ad Magnum.

makes

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makes a long enumeration of the ecclesiastical writers, who also made use of their testimony, in defence of the Christian religion. Among the holy writers, he had named St. Paul, who quotes several passages from the Greek poets. "[*l*] And indeed, says he, he had learnt "from the true David, the way of forcing the ene- "my's weapon out of his own hand, in order to fight "him; and to cut off the head of the proud Goliah "with his own sword."

It were therefore much to be wished, that those who are designed for the Pulpit should begin by imbibing Eloquence at its source, that is, from the Greek and Latin authors, who have been always looked upon as masters of the art of speaking. [*m*] The sacred orators should have learned from them the distribution of the several ornaments of discourse, and this not barely to please the auditor, much less to gain a reputation, (motives which even heathen rhetoric thought unworthy its orators,) but in order to make truth more amiable to men, by rendering her more lovely; and to engage them, by this kind of innocent allurement, to relish her holy sweetness, and to practise her salutary lessons with greater diligence and sincerity.

It is well known that St. Ambrose's Eloquence had this effect on St. Austin, though he was still charmed with the beauties of profane Eloquence. [*n*] That great bishop preached the word of God to his people with so many charms and graces, that all his auditors were transported with a kind of divine enthusiasm.

[*l*] Didicerat à vero David extorquere de manibus hostium gladium, & Goliæ superbissimi caput proprio mucrone truncare. Ibid.

[*m*] Illud quod agitur genere temperato, id est ut eloquentia ipsa delectet, non est propter seipsum usurpandum, sed ut rebus quæ utiliter honestèque dicuntur . . . aliquanto promptiùs & delectatione ipsâ elocutionis accedat, vel tenaciùs adhærescat assensus. . . . Ita fit ut etiam temperati generis ornatu non jactantur, sed prudenter utamur, non ejus fine contenti, quo tantùmmodo delectatur auditor: sed hoc potiùs, agentes, ut etiam ipso ad bonum, quod persuadere volumus, adjuvetur. S. Aug. de Doct. Chr. l. 4. n. 55.

[*n*] Veni ad Ambrosium Episcopum . . . cujus tunc eloquia strenuè ministrabant adipem frumenti tui . . & sobriam vini ebrietatem populo tuo. Confess. l. 5. c. 13.

St.

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[o] St. Austin sought only in the sermons of that preacher, the flowers of language, and not the solidity of sense; but it was not in his power to separate them. He thought to have opened his understanding and heart to the beauties of diction only; but truth entered at the same time, and soon gained an absolute sovereignty over him.

He himself made the same use of Eloquence afterwards. We find the people were so ravished with his sermons, that they bestowed the utmost applauses on them. He was, however, very far either from seeking or affecting those applauses; for, his humility was so great, that they really afflicted him, and made him fear the secret and subtile contagion of that poisoned vapour. [p] But whence should such frequent acclamations arise, but from this, *viz.* that truth, thus illustrated, and placed in her utmost splendor by a truly eloquent man, charms and transports the mind of man?

I cannot here avoid exhorting my readers to peruse M. Arnaud's little treatise, entitled, *Reflections on the Eloquence of Preachers.* He there refutes part of the preface which M. du Blois his friend had prefixed to his translation of St. Austin's sermons, in which he pretended to shew, that most preachers followed a manner of preaching contrary to that of St. Austin, by making too much use of human Eloquence, which he thought improper for sermons. This preface had dazzled great numbers, and was very much applauded. But they were greatly astonished, when M. Arnaud's little treatise appeared, to find that almost the whole preface was founded upon false principles and reasonings. It may be of use, and agreeable at the same time, to compare these two treatises,

[o] Cùm non satagerem discere quæ dicebat, sed tantum quemadmodum dicebat audire . . . veniebant in animum meum simul cum verbis quæ diligebam, res etiam quas negligebam; neque enim ea dirimere poteram. Et dum cor aperirem ad excipiendum quam disertè diceret, pariter intrabat & quam verè diceret. Ibid. n. 14.

[p] Unde autem crebrò & multùm acclamatur ita dicentibus, nisi quia veritas sic demonstrata, sic defensa, sic invicta, delectat? De Doctr. Chr. l. 4. n. 56.

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by first reading the preface, in order to see if we can find any fault in it; and then, by examining the refutation, to see whether it be just and solid, and supported by sound arguments.

The principle I have laid down from St. Austin's rules, *viz.* that the Christian orator may, and even ought to strive to please the auditor, must be kept within certain limits, and requires some illustration. Two defects must be avoided in preaching; the one consists in taking too much pains about the ornaments and graces of discourse, and the other in neglecting them. I shall say something of each.

FIRST DEFECT.

TAKING TOO MUCH PAINS ABOUT THE ORNAMENTS.

It is very blameable in a Christian orator, to endeavour more at pleasing than instructing his auditors; and to be more solicitous about words than things; to rely too much upon his labour and preparation; to enervate the force of the truths he is denouncing, by a puerile affectation of bright thoughts; in a word to adulterate and corrupt God's word, by a vicious mixture of trifling ornaments.

[*q*] St. Jerom, whose taste for Eloquence and the graces of discourse are well known, could not suffer the Christian orator, (neglecting to instruct himself and others in the very principles of religion) to employ himself only as a declaimer, to please people; nor that the august Eloquence of the Pulpit should degenerate into a vain parade of words, fit for nothing more than to gain a little trifling applause. [*r*] St. Ambrose was of the same opinion, and would banish absolutely that kind of embroidery from preaching, whose only effect is to make thoughts more languid.

[*q*] Nolo te declamatorem esse & rabulam, garrulumque sine ratione.

Verba volvere, & celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere, indoctorum hominum est. S. Hieron. Epist. ad Nepot.

[*r*] Comment. l. 8.

Auser

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Aufer mihi lenocinia fucumque verborum, quia solent enervare sententias.

God tells us in Ezekiel, how much he detested the unhappy disposition of the Israelites, [*s*] who instead of improving by the sad predictions of his prophet, and being alarmed by them to their advantage, went to hear him only for diversion's sake, as to a concert of music. How much would he have reproached the prophet himself, had he given occasion for so shameful an abuse, through any fault or neglect of his, by endeavouring merely to gratify the ears of his auditors by a soft harmony and an empty sound of words? This is the just character of sermons, of which nothing remains but the unprofitable remembrance of the pleasure they gave when spoke.

A certain heathen complained, that in his time these light graces of style, which ought to be employed in subjects of a less grave and serious nature, had done a kind of violence to good sense and reason; and possessed themselves, as it were, by force, even of the suits or causes in which the lives and fortunes of men were debated. [*t*] *In ipsa capitis aut fortunarum pericula irrupit voluptas.*

How much more ought this abuse to be condemned in religious discourses, in which the gravest, and at the same time the most awful subjects are handled? In which it is intended, for instance, to humble and intimidate the sinner in order to effect this salvation, by representing the horrors of death to be nearer him than perhaps he imagines; the cry of the blood of Christ Jesus, which demands vengeance for having been so long profaned; the anger of a justly exasperated God, ready to fall upon his head; and hell open under his feet, in order to swallow him up?

[*u*] Is a preacher excusable, amidst such great truths as these, to employ himself wholly on an empty pomp

[*s*] Et eis quasi carmen musicum, quod suavi dulcique sono canitur: et audiunt verba tua, et non faciunt. Ezek. xxxiii. 32.

[*t*] Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

[*u*] An quisquam tulerit reum in discrimine capitis, decurrentibus periodis, quam lætissimis locis sententiisque dicentem? . . . Quò fugerit interim dolor ille? Ubi lachry-

mæ

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pomp of elocution; to go in search of bright thoughts, to make his periods harmonious, and to croud a set of empty figures one upon the other? What becomes in the mean time of that grief and sadness which ought to pierce his soul whilst he is discoursing on such subjects, and which ought to make his whole discourse one continued groan, as it were? Might we not justly be angry, should the preacher endeavour to display his genius, and had leisure to act the fine speaker, at a time when thunder and lightning only should appear, and the most lively and animated emotions of the soul?

SECOND FAULT.

THE BEING TOO NEGLIGENT OF THE ORNAMENTS OF SPEECH.

Another fault in preaching, much more common than the former, and of infinitely worse consequence, is, the being too careless of the elocution; the not having a sufficient respect for the audience, the appearing before them without almost any preparation, the speaking extempore whatever occurs, frequently without order, choice, or justness; and by this affected negligence giving the hearers a distaste and contempt for the word of God, which in itself is worthy of engaging the esteem and awe of mankind, and ought to be their sweetest consolation, their most solid glory.

The aim and design which every worthy preacher proposes in addressing himself to Christians, is to persuade them, in order to incline them to virtue, and to give them an abhorrence to vice; but all do not employ the necessary means to those great ends, nor

mæ substiterint? Unde te in medium tam secura observatio artium miserit? Non ab exordio usque ad ultimam vocem continuus quidam gemitus, & idem tristitiæ vultus servabitur? . . . Commoveaturne quisquam ejus fortunâ, quem tumidum ac sui jactantem, & ambitiosum institorem eloquentiæ in ancipiti sorte videat? Non imò oderit rerum verba aucupantem, & anxium de famâ ingenii, & cui esse diserto vacet. Quint. l. 11. c. 1.

study

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study to speak in a persuasive manner. It is this forms the difference between good and bad preachers. [x] The latter, says St. Austin, preach in a gross, disagreeable and cold manner, *obtusè, deformiter, frigidè;* the former with ingenuity, beauty, and strength, *acutè, ornatè, vehementer.*

The salvation of most Christians, as well as their faith, depend on the word; but this word must be treated with art and skill, in order that the minds of people may be prepared to receive it. The ornament of speech is one of the means conducive to this purpose, and the reason of it is very plain; *viz.* the auditor must not only hear what is spoke, but hear it willingly: [y] *volumus non solùm intelligenter, verùm etiam libenter audiri.* Now how can he hear it willingly, unless he is induced by pleasure? [z] *Quis tenetur ut audiat, si non delectetur?* . . . [a] *Quis eum (oratorem) velit audire, nisi auditorem nonnullâ etiam suavitate detineat?* "Who can bear to hear an orator, if he be not allured with something sweet and pleasant?" But this ornament of speech is not incompatible with simplicity; for this simplicity must not be gross, tedious, and distasteful: [b] *Nolumus fastidiri etiam quod submisse dicimus.* There is a medium between a far-fetched, florid, luminous; and a low, grovelling, careless style: and it is the medium between these that suits the preacher. [c] *Illa quoque eloquentia generis temperati apud eloquentem ecclesiasticum, nec inornata relinquitur, nec indecenter ornatur.*

Christians would know much more than they do, were they to frequent regularly their parish churches, which they are more indispensably obliged to do than is generally imagined; and were sermons written and delivered as they ought to be, which is a duty no less incumbent on the preacher. What affliction, what grief must those feel, who have some idea of the importance of this ministry, to see their churches gene-

[x] De Doctr. Christ. l. 4. n. 7.
[y] N. 56.
[z] N. 58.
[a] N. 56.
[b] Ibid.
[c] N. 57.

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rally empty, or very thin; especially if they are conscious that it is their cold, languid, tiresome, and often long-winded manner of speaking, which prevents their parishioners from coming to hear them? Hereby they are wanting in the most important duty of their function; they deceive the expectation of their hearers, who run eagerly in order to supply their neceseities, but are obliged to return empty. They degrade the word of God by their careless delivery, and cause it to be looked upon with contempt and distaste. They dishonour the Divine Majesty, whose [*d*] embassadors they are; and they do not consider, that, should the envoy of an earthly monarch behave in this manner, he would be justly looked upon by his sovereign as a prevaricator.

They are far from observing the conduct of that Greek * orator, who never spoke in public till he had duly prepared himself for it; and besought the gods before he came out of his house, not to suffer one word to fall from him unworthy of his auditors: or of that Roman orator, who though so eminent, declares, [*e*] that he never pleaded any cause, till after he had taken all the pains requisite for that purpose. I dare not translate the words which Quintilian [*f*] levels against that lawyer, who should be wanting in this duty, so essential to his profession; but which is much more so to that of a minister of the word of God, on which the salvation of his hearers depends.

I am sensible, that the multitude of affairs, in which such pastors as are careful of their duty must be engaged, allow them but very little time to prepare their sermons. But we are not here treating of pieces of Eloquence, laboured and polished with the utmost care; which require long application, and consequently complete leisure. The preacher, who,

[*d*] Legatione fungimur.

* Pericles.

[*e*] Ad illam causaram operam nunquam nisi paratus & meditatus accedo. Cic. l. 1. de Leg. n. 12.

[*f*] Afferet ad dicendum curæ semper quantum plurimum poterit Neque enim solùm negligentis, sed & mali, & in susceptâ causâ perfidi, ac proditoris est, pejùs agere quàm possit. Quint. l. 12. c. 9.

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besides a natural genius, has some learning; and who joins to these qualities a strong zeal for the salvation of Christians, never fails of success; and is sure of applause, when he lays down his discourse with order, delivers solid and pathetic things, corroborates them by texts of scripture, and observes not to make his discourse too long. Such a preparation as this, (and it is indispensable) does not take up a vast deal of time.

Is any part of the ministerial function more important, more necessary, more worthy of the pastoral zeal, than the care of the poor, and that of administering the sacraments? [g] Nevertheless we see, on one side, that the apostles, when assembled to remedy the complaints, which the distribution of the alms had occasioned among the faithful, think themselves obliged to lay aside this so holy duty, rather than to leave off preaching the word of God, to which they were expressly commanded to postpone every thing else; and on the other side, when St. Paul, so well instructed in the duty of an apostle, and so indefatigable in his labours, declares expressly, [h] *that Christ sent him, not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel.* Preaching is therefore the chief function of apostles, bishops, and pastors of every denomination; to which they ought to apply themselves with all the vigour they are capable of, removing, with an inflexible severity, whatever is incompatible with this first and most essential of their duties.

This precept and example has been given us by all those great saints, whose learned and eloquent discourses have done so much honour to the Christian world, though most of them possessed the highest dignities in the church, and were vigilant in defending it against heresies.

[i] St. Gregory Nazianzen, though he despised the disposition of words, and those empty delicacies which only please the ear, was yet very far from neglecting

[g] Act vi. 2.
[h] 1 Cor. i. 17.
[i] Orat. 15.

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What might be of use to elocution, [k] as he observes more than once. *I have reserved, says he, Eloquence only; and I do not repent the pains and fatigue I have suffered by sea and land, in order to attain it; I could wish, for my own and my friends' sakes, that we possessed all the force of it: . . . [l] This alone remains of what I once possest, and I offer, devote and consecrate it to my God. The voice of his command, and the impulse of his Spirit, have made me abandon all things beside, to barter all I was master of, for the precious stone of the Gospel. Thus then I am become, or rather I wish ardently to become that happy merchant, who exchanges contemptible and perishable goods, for others that are excellent and eternal. But being a minister of the Gospel, I devote myself solely to the art of preaching: I embrace it as my lot, and will never forsake it. . . . [m] In another place, he thanks his flock, in that their incredible ardor for the word of God was his consolation against the injurious and malicious discourses vented by his enemies against his Eloquence, which he indeed had acquired by the study of profane authors; but had raised and ennobled by the reading of the sacred writings, and by the vivifying wood of the cross, which had taken away all its bitterness. He adds, that he is not of the opinion of many others, who would have people be contented with a dry, simple, unadorned, flat discourse; who cover their laziness or ignorance with a contemptuous disdain of their adversaries, and pretend therein to imitate the apostles; not considering that miracles and prodigies were to them instead of Eloquence.

[n] St. Ambrose, in the very place where he exhorts preachers to make their discourses pure, simple, clear, weighty, and solid, adds, that as they must not be af-

[k] Orat. 3.

* St. Gregory Nazianzen had undertaken several voyages, purposely to study Eloquence under the ablest masters.

[l] Orat. 12.

[m] Orat 27.

[n] Oratio sit pura, simplex, dilucida atque manifesta, plena gravitatis & ponderis: non affectatâ elegantiâ, sed non intermissâ gratiâ. Offic. l. 1. c. 22.

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fectedly elegant, so neither must they be devoid of beauties and graces. And he himself always practised what he inculcated to others.

Was ever pastor more employed, or more devoted to good works, than St. Austin? [o] But then his zeal, no less enlightened than fervent, did not engross any part of the time requisite for preparing what was necessary for the instruction of the faithful. One would conclude, that at first his sermons were written down, and got by heart; because he then had more leisure, and more occasion to use this precaution. Afterwards, he contented himself with searching for the sense of such passages of scripture as he intended to explain; to display the truths they contained, and to find out texts to support and illustrate them; which research, and his preaching, cost him no little pains, as he himself tells us in the conclusion of his fourth discourse on the ciiid Psalm. *Magno labore quæsita & inventa sunt, magno labore nunciatu & disputata sunt: sit labor noster fructuosus vobis, & benedicat anima nostra Dominum.* The insatiable ardor with which his auditors used to hear him, is a manifest proof that he was a very able preacher; was very laborious in preparing, and careful in the delivery of his sermons.

I have purposely reserved St. Chrysostom for the last, because none of the fathers have insisted more on the subject in question, than he has done. In his beautiful discourse on the priesthood, which is justly considered as his master-piece, he lays it down as an incontestable principle, that the chief duty of bishops, and consequently of all pastors, consists in the instruction delivered from the Pulpit: because by that alone, they are enabled to teach Christians the truths of religion, to inspire them with a love for virtue, draw them out of the paths of vice, and support them in the severe trials they must undergo, and the combats they must daily sustain against the enemies of their salvation. Without this support, a poor church may be compared to a city attacked on all sides, and with-

[o] Epist. lxxiii.

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out defence; or to a ship driven by storms, and without a pilot. The word in the mouth of a pastor, is like a sword in the hand of a warrior; but this sword must be managed with art and dexterity; or, to speak more plainly, [p] a pastor must very assiduously prepare the sermons and other discourses he is obliged to deliver in public; and must use his utmost efforts to acquire this talent, since on it depends the salvation of most of the souls committed to his care.

But here it will be objected; if this be true, why did St. Paul neglect the acquiring this talent; and why did he not scruple to own, that [q] *he was rude in speech*, and that too in writing to the Corinthians, who set so high a value upon Eloquence?

This expression, says St. Chrysostom, the sense and depth of which has not been discovered, has deceived multitudes, and by them has been made use of as a handle to vindicate their own sloth. If St. Paul was ignorant, as you say, how came he to confound the Jews at Damascus, having not yet wrought any miracles? How was it possible for him to vanquish the Greeks in argument, and why did he not retire to Tarsus? Was it not after he had gained so complete a victory by the power of his discourse, that unable to bear the ignominy of their defeat, they resolved to put him to death? Of what did he make use in his contest with the citizens of Antioch, who were resolved to embrace the Jewish ceremonies? Did not the senator of the Areopagus, who inhabited the most superstitious, and at the same time the most learned city in the world, and his wife, follow him, after hearing but one of his discourses? How did that Apostle employ his time in Thessalonica, in Corinth, in Ephesus, and even in Rome itself? Did not he spend whole days and nights in explaining the sacred writings? Need we relate his various disputes with the Epicureans and Stoics? How audacious then must those be, who after this would give the title of ignorant to St. Paul? He, whose disputations and sermons

[p] Χρὴ τὸν ἱερέα πάντα ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτην κτήσασθαι τὴν ἰσχύν.

[q] 2 Cor. xi. 6.

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were universally admired; he, whom the Lycaonians imagined to be Mercury, undoubtedly because of his Eloquence?

It may happen, that pastors full of zeal, charity, and at the same time very capable of presiding over men, may however not be endued with a talent for preaching, nor able to instruct their flock. In this case, the example of Valerius bishop of Hippo, who, because he was not conversant in the Latin tongue, made St. Austin preach for him, and in his presence, is a rule for them; and authorizes them to employ others in those functions to which they themselves are unequal. [r] Such country rectors as are not capable of composing sermons, may have recourse to books. There is purposely calculated for them, a set of short and easy homilies, adapted to the meanest capacities; these they may either read to their congregation, or get others to read for them.

St. Austin would not condemn this practice; [s] he being of opinion, that when a pastor is not capable of writing a sermon, he may get it done by another; and after learning it by heart, deliver it as though he himself were the author. The reason of which is, that some method or other must be used to instruct the people.

III. DUTY OF A PREACHER.

To affect and move the Passions of his Auditors by the Strength of his Discourse.

Though we ought to set a high value on a discourse, which is not only very perspicuous, but graceful and eloquent; it must however be owned, that the great, the surprising effects of Eloquence are not produced either from that of a simple or mediate, or of an em-

[r] M. P. Abbé Lambert.

[s] Sunt quidam, qui benè pronunciare possunt, quid autem pronuncient excogitare non possunt. Quòd si ab aliis sumant eloquenter sapienterque conscriptum, memoriæque commendent, atque ad populum proferant: si eam personam gerunt, non improbè faciunt. De Doctr. Chr. l. 4. n. 62.

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bellished or florid kind, but from the sublime and pathetic. By the two former, the orator pleases and instructs; and he may be satisfied with producing these two effects, when he speaks of speculative truths, which require only our belief and consent; and regard the understanding, rather than the heart and affections, if we admit any such in religion. But it is not so when practical truths are proposed, which are to be put in execution. And indeed to what purpose would it be, should the auditor be convinced of what he hears, and applaud the Eloquence of the speaker, if he did not love, embrace, and practise the maxims preached to him? In case the orator does not arrive at this third degree, he goes but half way; for he ought to please and instruct, only with the view of affecting. It is in this St. Austin, after Tully, makes the complete victory of Eloquence to consist. Every discourse that leaves the auditor calm, does not move and agitate him, and also deject, overthrow, and vanquish his obstinate resistance; how beautiful soever such a piece may appear, it is not truly eloquent. The business is, to inspire him with horror for his sins, and with a dread of God's judgments; to remove the delusive charm which blinds him, and to force open his eyes; to make him hate what he loved, and love what he hated; to root out from his heart his strong, darling, ardent passions, of which he is no longer master, and which have gained an absolute ascendant over him; in a word, to urge, to force him from himself, from his desires, his joys, and every thing that constitutes his felicity.

I am sensible that nothing but the all-powerful grace of Christ Jesus can affect a heart in this manner, and create such wonderful changes in it. To think otherways, and to expect in some measure this effect from the efficacy of words, the graces of speech, the solidity of arguments, or the strength of expressions, would be, to speak with St. Paul, to [t] annihilate the cross of Christ, and divest him of the honour of

[t] Misit me Christus evangelizare, non in sapientiâ verbi, ut non evacuetur crux Christi. 1 Cor. i. 17.

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converting the world, to ascribe it to human wisdom. [u] For this reason St. Austin would have the Christian orator rely much more on prayer than on his abilities; and before he speaks to them, would have him address the Creator, who can alone inspire him with what he ought to speak, and the manner in which it is to be spoken [x] But as we employ the natural remedies which physic prescribes, though we are sensible that all their effect is owing to God, who is pleased to make them subservient to our recovery, but without subjecting his power to theirs; in like manner, the Christian orator may, and ought to employ all the methods, all the assistance which Rhetoric can supply, but without putting his confidence in it; and in full persuasion, that it will be to no purpose for him to speak to the ears, if God does not speak to the hearts.

Now it is the sublime and pathetic style, great and lively images, strong and vehement passions, which force our assent, and captivate the heart. [y] Instruction and arguments have enlightened and convinced the mind; the graces of speech have won it; and, by their seducing charms, have prepared the way to the heart. The next thing is, to enter and take possession of it; but this is what only the grand, the powerful Eloquence can effect. The reader may turn back to what was said on this subject in the arti-

[u] Noster iste eloquens . . . hæc se posse, pietate magis orationum, quàm oratorum facultate, non dubitet, ut orando pro se, ac pro illis quos est allocuturus, sit orator, antequam dictor. . . . Et quis facit ut quod oportet, quemadmodum oportet, & dicatur à nobis nisi IN CUJUS MANU SUNT ET NOS ET SERMONES NOSTRI?

[x] Sicut enim corporis medicamenta, quæ hominibus ab hominibus adhibentur, non nisi eis prosunt, quibus Deus operatur salutem, quî & sine illis mederi potest, cùm sine ipso illa non possint, & tamen adhibentur. . . ita & adjumenta doctrinæ tunc prosunt animæ adhibita per hominem, cùm Deus operatur ut prosint, qui potuit evangelium dare homini etiam non ab hominibus, neque per hominem. S. Aug. de Doctr. Chr. l. 4. c. 15, 16.

[y] Oportet igitur eloquentem ecclesiasticum, quando suadet aliquid quod agendum est, non solùm docere ut instruat, & delectare ut teneat, verùm etiam flectere ut vincat. Ipse quippe jàm remanet ut consensionem flectendus eloquentiæ granditate, in quo id non egit usque ad ejus confessionem demonstrata veritas, adjunctâ etiam suavitate dictionis. S. Aug. de Doctr. Chr. l. 4. c. 13.

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cle of the sublime. I shall now give some extracts from the fathers, which will be more instructive than any reflections I can make on this subject.

AN EXTRACT FROM ST. AUSTIN.

[z] This illustrious Saint employed the precepts of his triumphant Eloquence on an important occasion, which he himself has related. It was at Hippo, when he was but a private priest, and at the time that Valerius the bishop made him preach in his stead. The festival of St. Leontius bishop of Hippo being nigh, the people murmured at their being hindered to celebrate it with the usual rejoicings, that is, to assemble in the churches at feasts, which degenerated into drunkenness and debauchery. St. Austin, knowing that the people murmured, began on Wednesday, the eve of the Ascension to preach to them on that subject, upon occasion of the Gospel of the day, in which these words were read: [a] *Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine.*

As there were but few auditors at this discourse, and that a great many among these were opposers, he spoke again on the same subject on the succeeding day, being Ascension-day, to a more numerous assembly, in which the Gospel of the buyers and sellers, who were driven out of the temple was read. He himself read it over again, and shewed, how much more solicitous Christ would have been, to banish dissolute feasts from the temple, than a traffic innocent in itself. He also read several other passages of Scripture against drunkenness. He heightened his discourse with groans, and the most lively marks of the deep sorrow into which his love for his brethren had plunged him; and, after interrupting it by some prayers, which he caused to be repeated, he again began to speak with the utmost vehemence; setting before their

[z] S. Aug. Epist. xxix. ad Alypium.

[a] Matth. vii. 6.

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eyes the general danger to which the common people were exposed, as well as the priests, who are to render an account of their souls to the great pastor. "I "conjure you, says he, by his humiliations and "sufferings, his crown of thorns, his cross, and his "blood, at least have pity on us, and consider the "love and charity of the venerable Valerius, who, "out of tenderness for you, entrusted me with the "formidable ministry, to declare the word of God "unto you. He has often told you how over-joyed he "was at my coming hither; but his views in this was, "that I might be the minister of your salvation, and "not of your damnation." St. Austin added, that he hoped this would never come to pass; and that in case they would not submit to the authority of the Divine Word he had preached to them, they would yield to the chastisements, which he did not doubt God would inflict upon them in this world, to prevent their being damned in the other. He spoke this in so affecting a manner, that he drew tears from his congregation, and could not refrain from weeping himself. "It was not, says he, my weeping over "them, that drew tears from their eyes; but, whilst "I was speaking, their tears prevented mine. I must "confess that I was then melted. After we had wept "together, I began to have strong hopes of their "amendment."

[b] The day following, which was the feast-day, he was informed, that some murmured, and cried, "What's doing now? Were not those, who permit-"ted this custom hitherto, Christians?" [c] St. Austin, not knowing how to move them, was in great perplexity. He had resolved to read to these obstinate people that passage in [d] Ezekiel, where it is said, that the centinel is discharged when he has given warning of the danger; and afterwards to shake his garments over the people, and to return home. How-

[b] Cùm illuxisset dies cui solebant fauces ventresque se parare.

[c] Quo audito, quas majores commovendi eos machinas præpararem, omnino nesciebam.

[d] Ezek. xxviii. 9.

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ever, God spared him this affliction, and the murmurers were no longer able to resist so lively and eloquent a charity.

There is no doubt, but that the solidity and beauty of the discourse was of service in preparing the way, and affecting the minds of his hearers; but a circumstance which overthrew those murmurers, and gained St. Austin a complete victory, was his blending the sublime and pathetic, with that softness and tenderness we have mentioned elsewhere. [e] The two others may procure acclamations; but the sublime and pathetic bear down, as it were, every thing with their weight; and instead of applauses, force tears from their hearers.

EXTRACT FROM ST. CYPRIAN.

The extract I here give, is borrowed from the beautiful epistle of this illustrious bishop to pope Cornelius, upon occasion of those persons, who, having fallen during the persecution, demanded haughtily to be restored to the sacraments, though they had not done the penance required on those occasions, and had even the boldness to employ menaces.

"If those sinners, says St. Cyprian, will be received into the church, let us see what idea they "have of the satisfaction they ought to make, and "what fruits of repentance they bring. The church "here is not shut against any person; the bishop does "not reject any one. We are ready to receive with "patience, indulgence, and mildness, all those who "present themselves before us. It is my desire that "all return into the church: it is my desire that all "who fought with us, should rally under the standards of Christ Jesus; and return to his heavenly "camp, and into the house of God his Father. I re-

[e] Non sanè, si dicendo crebriùs & vehementiùs acclametur, ideo granditer putandus est dicere: hoc enim & acumina submissi generis, & ornamenta faciunt temperati. Grande autem genus plerumque pondere suo voces premit, sed lacrymas exprimit. S. Aug. de Doctr. Chr. l. 4. c. 24.

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" mit as much as I possibly can; I wink at a great " many things, from the ardent desire I have to reunite " our brethren to us. I do not even examine with all " the severity which piety and the Christian religion " require, such offences as have been committed " against God; and I commit sin perhaps myself in too " easily remitting the sin of others. I embrace, with " the ardor and the tenderness of an entire charity, " those who return with sentiments of penitence, those " who confess their sins, and atone for them with humi- " lity, and simplicity of heart. But if some think to " enter again into the church by threats, and not by " prayers; and to force open the doors of it by ter- " ror, and not to gain admittance by atonement and " tears; they are to know, that the church is for ever " shut against such persons; and that the invincible " camp of Christ Jesus, fortified by the almighty " power of God, who is the protector of it, is not to " be forced by human insolence. The priest of the " Lord, who follows the precepts of the gospel, may " be killed; but he cannot be overcome. *Sacerdos* " *Dei evangelium tenens, & Christi præcepta custo-* " *diens, occidi potest, non vinci.*"

In my opinion this extract, which displays both the paternal mildness of a holy bishop, and the invincible courage of a martyr, may be proposed as a perfect model of the strongest and most sublime Eloquence, equal in every respect to that of Demosthenes.

EXTRACTS FROM ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM AGAINST OATHS.

St. Chrysostom, in his homilies to the inhabitants of Antioch, often exclaims against those, who for temporal interest, obliged their brethren to swear on the altar, and by that means often occasioned their taking of false oaths. " [*f*] What are you do- " ing, wicked wretch, says he? You require an oath " on the holy table; and you sacrifice cruelly your " brother, on the same altar where Jesus Christ, who

[*f*] Homil. xv. ad Pop. Antioch.

" sacrificed

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" sacrificed himself for you, lies. Thieves assassinate, " but then they do it in secret; but you, in presence " of the church, our common parent, murder one of " her children, in which you are more wicked than " Cain; for he concealed his guilt in the desert, and " only deprived his brother of a transitory life; but " you plunge your neighbour into everlasting death, " and that in the midst of the temple, and before the " face of the Creator! Was then the Lord's house " built for swearing, and not for prayer? Is the sacred " altar to occasion the committing of crimes, instead " of expiating them? But if every other religious sen- " timent is extinguished in you, revere, at least, the " holy book, with which you present your brother to " swear upon. Open the holy Gospel, on which you " are going to make him swear; and upon hearing " what Christ Jesus says of swearing, tremble and " withdraw. And what does Christ say there? *It* " *has been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not* " *forswear thyself.... But I say unto you, Swear* " *not at all.* [g] How! you make people swear " on that very book which forbids the taking of " oaths! Impious procedure! horrid sacrilege! This " is making the legislator, who condemns murder, an " accomplice in the guilt of it.

" I shed fewer tears when I hear that a person has " been murdered on the highway, than when I see a " man go up to the altar, lay his hand on the holy " book of the Gospels, and take his oath aloud. On " this occasion it is impossible for me to keep from " changing colour, from trembling, and shivering, " both for him who administers, and for him who " takes the oath. Miserable wretch! to secure to " thyself a doubtful sum of money, thou losest thy " soul! Can the benefit, thou reapest, be put in com- " petition with thine and thy brother's loss? If thou " knowest, that he from whom thou exactest an oath, " is a good man, why then art thou not contented " with his word? But if he is not, why dost thou " force him to forswear himself?

[g] Matt. v. 33, 34.

" But

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" But here you will answer, that without this your " proof would have been imperfect, and you would " not have been believed. What is that to the pur- " pose? It is in fearing to require the oath that you " will appear worthy of belief, and be easy in your " mind. For, in fine, when you are got home, does " not your conscience reproach you? Don't you say " to yourself, Was I in the right to exact an oath from " him? Is he not forsworn? Am I not the cause of " his committing so dreadful a crime? On the other " side, what a consolation must it be, when, being re- " turned home, you can say to yourself, Blessed be " God, I put a restraint upon myself; I have pre- " vented my brother from committing a crime, and " possibly from taking a false oath! May all the gold, " all the riches in the universe perish, rather than that " I infringe the law, to force others to violate it."

[*h*] In the foregoing homily, St. Chrysostom, after having related to his auditors in what manner St. John Baptist had been put to death, because of the oath that Herod had made, exhorts them to preserve the remembrance of so tragical an event, and to take warning by so dreadful an example; on which occasion he employs the most lively and sublime figures. " I bid " each of you yesterday bring into his house the still " bleeding head of St. John Baptist, and to imagine to " yourselves his eyes animated with a holy zeal against " oaths, and his voice, which, still raising itself against " that criminal custom, seems to speak thus to you: " *Fly, and detest swearing; for this cost me my life,* " *and occasions the greatest crimes.* And indeed, " continues St. Chrysostom, what neither the gene- " rous liberty of the holy fore-runner (the Baptist) " nor the violent anger of the king, who saw himself " publicly reproved, could effect, was yet brought " to pass by the ill-grounded fear of perjury; and St. " John's death was the effect and consequence of the " oath. I again repeat the same thing to you: Re- " present to yourselves perpetually that holy head,

[*b*] Homii. xiv.

" which

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" which is for ever reproaching blasphemers; and this " reflection alone will be as a salutary bridle to your " tongues, and keep them from venting blasphemies."

EXTRACT OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM'S DISCOURSE ON EUTROPIUS'S DISGRACE.

Eutropius was favourite to the emperor Arcadius, and had an absolute ascendant over his master. This monarch, who discovered as much weakness when his ministers stood in need of his protection, as imprudence in raising them, was forced, in spite of himself, to abandon his favourite. Eutropius thereupon fell from the highest pitch of grandeur into an abyss of misery. The only friend he then found was St. John Chrysostom, whom he often had treated injuriously, and who yet had the pious generosity to receive him in the sacred asylum of the altars, which he had endeavoured to abolish, by various laws he had enacted against them, and to which he nevertheless fled in his calamity. The next day, on which the holy mysteries were to be celebrated, the people ran in crouds to the church, there to behold in Eutropius a lively image of human weakness, and of the vanity of worldly grandeur. The holy bishop treated this subject in so lively and moving a manner, that he changed the hatred and aversion which the people had for Eutropius, into compassion, and drew tears from the whole congregation. We are to observe, that it was usual with St. Chrysostom to address the great, and the powerful, even in the height of their prosperity, with a strength and liberty truly episcopal.

" [i] If ever there was reason to cry, *Vanity of va-* " *nities, all is vanity*, it is certainly on this occasion. " Where is now that splendor of the most exalted dig- " nities? Where are those marks of honour and dis- " tinction? What is become of that pomp of feasting " and rejoicings? What is the issue of those frequent

[i] Eccles. i. 2.

" accla-

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" acclamations, and extravagantly flattering encomi-
" ums, lavished by a whole people assembled in the
" Circus to see the public shews? A single blast of
" wind has stripped that proud tree of all its leaves;
" and, after shaking its very roots, has forced it in an
" instant out of the earth. Where are those false
" friends, those vile flatterers, those parasites so assi-
" duous in making their court, and in discovering a
" servile attachment by their words and actions? All
" this is gone and fled away like a dream, like a flower,
" like a shadow. We therefore cannot too often re-
" peat these words of the Holy Spirit, *Vanity of vani-*
" *ties, all is vanity.* They ought to be written in the
" most shining letters, in all places of public resort,
" on the doors of houses, and in all their apartments;
" but much more ought they to be engraved in our
" hearts, and be the perpetual subject of our medi-
" tation.

" Had I not just reason, says St. Chrysostom, ad-
" dressing himself to Eutropius, to set before you the
" inconstancy of riches? You now have found, by
" your own experience, that, like fugitive slaves, they
" have abandoned you; and are become, in some
" measure, traitors and murderers with regard to you,
" since they are the principal cause of your fall. I often
" repeated to you, that you ought to have a greater
" regard to my reproaches, how grating soever they
" might appear, than to the insipid praises which
" flatterers were perpetually lavishing on you, because
" [k] *Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the*
" *kisses of an enemy are deceitful.* Had I not just rea-
" son to address you in this manner? What is become
" of the croud of courtiers? They have turned their
" backs; they have renounced your friendship; and
" are solely intent upon their own interest and security,
" even at the expence of yours. We submitted to
" your violence in the meridian of your fortune, and,
" now you are fallen, we support you to the utmost of
" our power. The church, against which you have

[k] Prov. xxvii. 6.

" warred,

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" warred, opens its bosom to receive you; and the " theatres, the eternal object of your favour, which " had so often drawn down your indignation upon us, " have abandoned and betrayed you.

" I do not speak this to insult the misfortunes of " him who is fallen, nor to open and make wounds " smart that are still bleeding; but in order to support " those who are standing, and teach them to avoid the " like evils. And the only way to avoid these, is, to " be fully persuaded of the frailty and vanity of world- " ly grandeur. To call it a flower, a blade of grass, " a smoke, a dream, is not saying enough, since it is " even below nothing. Of this we have a very sen- " sible proof before our eyes. What man ever rose " to such an heigth of grandeur? Was he not im- " mensely rich? Did he not possess every dignity? " Did not the whole empire stand in fear of him? And " now, more deserted, and trembling still more than " the meanest wretch, than the vilest slave, than the " prisoners confined in dungeons; having perpetually " before his eyes swords unsheathed to destroy him; " torments and executioners; deprived of day-light " at noon-day, and expecting every moment that " death which perpetually stares him in the face.

" You were witnesses yesterday, when people came " from the palace in order to drag him hence, how he " ran to the holy altars, shivering in every limb; pale " and dejected, scarce uttering a word but what was " interrupted by sobs and groans, and rather dead than " alive. I again repeat, I do not declaim in this " manner in order to insult his fall, but to move and " affect you by the description of his calamities, and " inspire you with tenderness and compassion for one " so wretched.

" But some hard-hearted, merciless persons, who " are even offended at us because we suffered him to " take sanctuary in the church, say, Was not that very " man its most inveterate enemy, who made laws for " shutting up that sacred asylum? It is so indeed, an- " swers Chysostom; but we ought to glorify God the " more,

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" more, in thus obliging so formidable an enemy of " it to come and pay homage both to the power of " the church, and to its clemency. To its power, " since his persecution of it caused his fall; to its " clemency, since, notwithstanding all his injurious " treatment, forgetting what is past, he is shrouded " by its wings; is covered by its protection, as though " it were a shield; and is received into the holy " sanctuary of those altars, which he himself had of- " ten attempted to destroy. No victories or trophies " could reflect so much honour on the church. So " generous an action, of which only the church is ca- " pable, covers the Jews and infidels with shame. " To afford protection publicly to a sworn enemy, " fallen into disgrace, abandoned, and become uni- " versally the object of contempt and abhorrence; to " discover more than a maternal tenderness for him; " to oppose at one and the same time the anger of " the emperor, and the blind fury of the people; in " this consists the glory of our holy religion.

" You declare with indignation, that he made laws " for shutting up this sacred asylum. But, O man! " whosoever thou art, art thou then allowed to re- " member the injuries that have been done thee? " Are we not the servants of a crucified God, who " said, as he was breathing his last, [*l*] *Father, for-* " *give them, for they know not what they do?* And " that man, now prostrate before the altar, and ex- " posed to the sight of the whole world, does not he " appear in person to annul his own laws, and ac- " knowledge that they were unjust? What a glory " does this reflect on this altar, and how awful, how " dreadful is it become, since it keeps that lion in " chains before our eyes! Thus, what exalts the splen- " dor of a monarch, is not his being cloathed in pur- " ple, and sitting on his throne, but his treading un- " der foot vanquished and captive barbarians. . . .

" I see that our temple is as much crouded as at the " solemn feast of Easter. What a lesson does the sight

[*l*] Luke xxiii. 32.

" you

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"you now behold, afford; and how much more elo-
"quent is the silence of this man, reduced to so mi-
"serable a condition, than all our discourses? The
"rich man needs but enter in here, to see the follow-
"ing words of Scripture verified: [m] *All flesh is*
"*grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flow-*
"*er of the field. The grass withereth, the flower*
"*fadeth, because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon*
"*it.* And the poor man is taught, on this occasion,
"to form a quite different judgment of his condi-
"tion, than he generally does; to be even pleased
"with his poverty, which is to him a sanctuary, a
"haven, a citadel; by affording him security, and
"preserving him from those fears and alarms, which
"he sees are caused by riches."

St. Chrysostom's design in this discourse, was not only to instruct his hearers, but to move them to compassion, by the lively description he gave of Eutropius's misfortunes. And indeed he had the consolation, as was before observed, to draw tears from the whole congregation, notwithstanding their great aversion to Eutropius, who was justly considered as the author of all their calamities, both public and private. When St. Chrysostom perceived this, he proceeded in this manner: "Have I calmed your resentments? Have I
"softened your anger? Have I extinguished inhu-
"manity in your minds? Have I raised your compas-
"sion? Yes, I certainly must have effected all this;
"for the frame of mind I now behold you in, and the
"tears which trickle down your cheeks, are a certain
"proof of it. Since then your hearts are become
"more tender, and the glow of charity has melted
"their ice, and softened their rigour; let us go toge-
"ther, and throw ourselves at the emperor's feet; or
"rather, let us beseech the God of mercy to soften
"his heart, and incline him to pardon Eutropius."

This discourse had the desired effect, and St. Chrysostom saved the life of that unhappy man. But some days after, Eutropius having been so imprudent as to leave the church, in order to make his escape, he was

[m] Isaiah xl. 6, 7.

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taken, and banished to Cyprus, where he was afterwards seized and carried to Chalcedon, and there beheaded.

EXTRACT FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

St. Chrysostom had an intimate friend, Basilius by name, who had persuaded our saint to leave his mother's house, and lead a recluse and solitary life with him. As soon as my afflicted mother, says St. Chrysostom, heard of this, she took me by the hand, carried me into her chamber, and setting me down by her on the bed where she was delivered of me, she began to weep, and spake to me in such tender words, as affected me much more than her tears. "Son, says she, God would not suffer me to "enjoy long your father's virtue. By his death, "which happened soon after the pangs I had suffered "in bringing you into the world, you became an or- "phan, and I a widow, sooner than was for either of "our advantages. I have suffered all the troubles "and afflictions of widowhood, which cannot be "conceived by any, but those who have gone through "them. No words can express the storms to which "a young woman is exposed, who is but just come "from her father's house, is wholly unacquainted "with affairs; and who, being overwhelmed with "grief, is obliged to devote herself to new cares, too "weighty for her age and sex. She must make up the "negligence of her servants, and guard against their "malice: must defend herself from the evil designs "of her neighbours; must suffer perpetually the in- "jurious treatment of the farmers of the revenues, "and the insolence and barbarity they exercise in "levying the taxes.

"When a father leaves children behind him, if it "be a daughter, I am sensible the care of her must be "very heavy upon the widow her mother; however, "this care is supportable, since it is not attended "either with fear or expence. But, if it be a son,

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" the educating of him will be much more difficult;
" this fills her with perpetual apprehensions, not to
" mention how expensive it is to get him well edu-
" cated. However, these several evils could never
" prevail upon me to marry. I have continued fixed
" and immoveable, amidst these storms and tempests;
" and, trusting above all in the grace of God, I de-
" termined to suffer all those troubles which are in-
" separable from widowhood.

" But my only consolation in these afflictions was to
" behold you perpetually, and to contemplate in your
" face, the living, the faithful image of my deceased
" husband: a consolation which I received in your
" infancy, and when you was yet incapable of speak-
" ing, at which season parents find the greatest plea-
" sure in their children.

" I have not given you reason to say, that I indeed
" supported my present condition with courage, but
" that I lessened your father's possessions to extricate
" myself from those difficulties; a misfortune that of-
" ten befals minors. For I have preserved for you all
" he left you, though I did not spare any expence for
" your education; this I paid myself out of the por-
" tion given me by my father. I do not say this, my
" son, by way of reproaching you with the obligations
" you owe me. The only favour I ask in return,
" is, that you would not reduce me to widowhood a
" second time. Do not open a wound that was begin-
" ning to heal; at least stay till I am dead, and per-
" haps I may be so very soon. Those who are young
" may hope to grow old; but at my age I am to ex-
" pect nothing but death. After you have buried me
" in the same grave with your father, and joined my
" bones to his ashes, then undertake as long journies,
" and sail on whatever sea you please; for no one will
" hinder you: but so long as the breath is in my body,
" bear with my presence, and do not be tired with liv-
" ing with me. Do not draw down upon yourself the
" wrath of heaven, as you will do, should you so
" sensibly afflict a mother, who deserves the best from

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" you. Should I offer to engage you in worldly con-
" cerns, and you to undertake the management of my
" affairs which are your own, I then will allow you
" to have no regard or consideration for the laws of
" nature; the pains I have taken in bringing you up;
" the respect which is due unto a mother, or any such
" motive; but shun me as the enemy of your re-
" pose, and as one who is laying snares to ruin you.
" But in case I do all that lies in my power to make
" your life easy and happy, let this consideration at
" least, prevail upon you, if all others should fail.
" How many friends soever you may have, none of
" them will allow you to live with so much liberty as
" I do; and indeed, no one so passionately wishes
" your advancement and felicity."

St. Chrysostom was unable to resist these tender expressions, and though his friend Basilius continued his solicitations, he could not be prevailed upon to leave a mother so very indulgent, and so highly worthy of his love.

Do we meet with any thing among heathen authors, more beautiful, more lively, more tender, or more eloquent, than the discourse before us; but of that simple and natural Eloquence, which infinitely excels the most shining strokes of elaborate art? Is there one far-fetched thought in it, or any uncommon or affected turn? Is not the whole dictated by nature itself? But the circumstance I admire most in it is, the inexpressible reservedness of a deeply afflicted mother, who, though excessively afflicted, does not however vent one passionate expression, or complain of him who was the cause of her violent uneasiness, I mean Basilius. But undoubtedly his virtue checked her resentments on this occasion, or her fear that such words would exasperate her son, whom she desired to work upon by soft and gentle methods.

PART

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PART II.

THE LEARNING REQUISITE IN A CHRISTIAN ORATOR.

WHAT I have hitherto delivered, relates only to the style and method proper for the Christian orator, and which St. Austin calls *eloquenter dicere.* It remains for me to treat that which forms the knowledge indispensably necessary to a preacher, which the above-mentioned saint calls, *sapienter dicere.*

Without this learning, [n] a preacher, how eloquent soever he might appear, would be but a mere declaimer; and so much the more dangerous to his hearers, as the more agreeable to them; and as, by dazzling them with this false splendor, he might accustom them to mistake an empty sound of words for truth, which is the only solid food of the mind. It is well known, says St. Austin, how greatly the heathens themselves, who were not enlightened by Divine Wisdom, but guided only by reason and good sense, despised this false species of Eloquence. What are we therefore to think of it, we who are the children and the ministers of this very Wisdom.

It is but too usual with many who prepare for preaching, to be more studious about embellishing their discourses, than of filling them with solid truths. Nevertheless, it is a maxim in Rhetoric, established by all who have written on that art, that the only way to speak well, is to think justly; and to be able to do that, a person must be well instructed, be a master of his subject; and his mind must be adorned with a variety of knowledge.

[o] *Scribendi rectè sapere est & principium & fons.*

It was from philosophy, and especially in that of Plato, the ancients imagined that fund of knowledge

[n] Qui affluit insipienti eloquentiâ, tanto magis cavendus est, quanto magis ab eo in iis quæ audire inutile est, delectatur auditor, & eum, quoniam disertè dicere audit, etiam verè dicere existimat. Aug. lib. iv. de Doctr. Christ. c. 5.

[o] Horat de Art. Poet.

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might be imbibed, which only can form the good orator.

Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ.

This made Cicero so carefully enjoin this study; and he confesses, [p] as was observed elsewhere, that if he has made any advances in Eloquence, he owes it more to philosophy than to Rhetoric.

But Christian orators have infinitely more pure and more abundant sources, whence they ought to draw this fund of knowledge. These springs are the Scripture and the fathers. What riches do they contain? And how culpable would that person be, who should neglect so precious a treasure? That man, who is much conversant in them, will easily be master of elocution. The just thoughts and great truths with which his mind may there be stored, will naturally suggest proper expressions; and such an orator can never want words:

Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.

OF THE STUDY OF THE SCRIPTURES.

A preacher ought to make the Sacred Writings his chief study: and St. Austin lays it down as an incontestable principle, that the Christian orator will be more or less able to deliver himself with justness and solidity, in proportion to his knowledge of the Scriptures: [q] *Sapienter dicit homo tanto magis vel minus, quanto in scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit.*

All the religion, and all the knowledge of man, for this life and for that which is to come, consists in knowing the only true God, and Christ whom he has sent: [r] *Hæc est vita æterna, ut cognoscant te solum Deum verum & quem misisti Jesum Christum.* What can be wanting in that man who possesses this double knowledge? And where can it be taken but from

[p] Fateor me oratorem, si modò sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiæ spatiis extitisse. Orat. n. 12.

[q] De Doct. Christ. l. iv c. 5.

[r] John. xvii. 3.

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the Sacred Writings? [s] *Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor? O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!* Who can boast, [t] *that he has all the riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgment of the mystery of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ?* Those only [u] *to whom God will make known what are the riches of the glory of the* double *mystery*, that is, the evangelists and apostles, who can say, [x] *We have received . . . the Spirit of God; we know the mind of Christ.* It is known, that this gift was indulged to St. Paul in an eminent degree, who declared [y] *I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified;* all other things [z] *he counted but loss,* in comparison *of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus.* [a] He declares in more places than one, that his vocation is, [b] *to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ; and to make all men see, what is the fellowship of the mystery, which, from the beginning of the world, hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ.*

What is a preacher of the Gospel properly, but an embassador sent by the Creator to men, to declare his designs to them, to lay before them the conditions of the covenant he will make with them; and of the peace he will condescend to grant them, agreeable to that majestic expression of St. Paul, [c] *We are embassadors for Christ?* Now, from whom should an embassador receive his instructions, or the words he is commanded to deliver to those he is to treat with, but from the master who sent him? It was this made St. Paul exhort the Ephesians to offer up prayers continually for him; in order, says he, [d] *that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the Gospel. . . that*

[s] Rom. xi. 33, 34.
[t] Coloss. ii. 2.
[u] Ibid. i. 27.
[x] 1 Cor. ii. 12, 16.
[y] Ibid. ii. 2.
[z] Phil. iii. 8.
[a] Coloss. iv. 3, 4.
[b] Ephes. iii. 8, 9.
[c] 2 Cor. v. 20.
[d] Eph. vi. 19, 20.

therein

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therein I may speak boldly. And the same apostle declares in another place, *that all things are of God, who hath reconciled us unto himself by Jesus Christ,* [*e*] *and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation.*

When can preachers say truly to their hearers, [*f*] *Now then we are embassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us. . .* [*g*] *We speak before God in Christ,* or rather, [*h*] *it is Jesus Christ speaks in us,* unless when the truths they declare, and the proofs by which they support them, are drawn from the Sacred Writings, and are warranted from God's word? These are likewise infinitely fruitful, whether we desire to inculcate tenets, or to explain mysteries; or would unfold the principles of morality, or censure vices. [*i*] *All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.*

It must be confessed, that the truths which are declared to Christians, are much stronger, and make a much greater impression, when they are thus invested with the divine authority; because every man, at the same time that he has an idea of the Deity, has naturally a veneration for him. Besides, these truths take much deeper root in the mind, when they are joined with some passages of Scripture, the sense and energy of which have been shewn. The hearer may have the text explained, before his eyes, which makes him much more attentive; at least he has it at home, and, by reading it, he easily recals whatever was said to explain it. But a bare citation, often very short, and of which the auditor has seldom notice, passes away with great rapidity, leaves no trace behind it, and is lost and confounded in the rest of the discourse. We cannot expect much fruit from instructions, when they are founded merely on human reasons.

[*e*] 2 Cor. v. 15.
[*f*] Ibid. v. 20.
[*g*] Ibid. xii. 19.
[*h*] Ibid. xiii. 3.
[*i*] 2 Tim. iii. 16.

"One

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"One might follow, says the archbishop of Cam-
"bray, in his Dialogues on Eloquence, where he lays
"down excellent rules for preaching; one might
"follow many preachers twenty years, and not be
"instructed in religion in the manner we ought. I
"have often observed, says he elsewhere, that there
"is no art or science but is taught from principles,
"and methodically; whilst religion only is not taught
"after that method. A little dry catechism, which
"they do not understand, is given them in their in-
"fant years to learn by heart; after which, they have
"no other instructions but what they can gather from
"loose indigested sermons. I wish that Christians
"were taught the first elements of their religion, and
"were instructed with order and method to the high-
"est mysteries. This was the practise of the earlier
"ages of the church. Ministers used to begin with
"catechisms, after which they taught the Gospel re-
"gularly by homilies, whereby Christians became
"perfectly acquainted with the whole word of God."

In this manner pastors taught anciently their flocks; and the chief preparation they judged necessary for this important duty, which they looked upon with great terror, was the study of the Sacred Writings. I shall content myself with citing here the testimony and example of St. Austin. Valerius his bishop had ordained him priest, almost in spite of himself, in the view chiefly of making him exercise the ministry of preaching; and indeed he a little after obliges him to it. Who can express the fears, the inquietudes and alarms, with which St. Austin was seized at the sight of this function? And yet many look upon it as a sport, though this great man trembled at it. But what was wanting in him, either with regard to genius, or the knowledge necessary in a preacher! And this his bishop represented to him. [k] He himself owns, that he was well enough acquainted with all those things which relate to religion; but then he imagined, that he was not sufficiently able to distribute those

[k] Epist. xxi. ad. Valer.

truths

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truths to others, so as to conduce to their salvation; and this made him request so earnestly, that some time at least might be allowed him, in order to prepare himself for it, by the study of the Holy Scriptures, by prayer, and by tears. "But if, says he, in his "beautiful petition to his bishop, after having learn- "ed from experience the qualifications required in a "man who is intrusted with the dispensation of the "sacraments and of the word of God, you will not "allow me time to acquire what I am sensible is want- "ing in myself, you would then have me perish. "Valerius, my dear father, where is your love and "charity? . . . For what answer shall I be able to "make to the Lord, when he will judge me? Shall "I tell him, that, after I had once accepted of eccle- "siastical employments, it was not possible for me to "inform myself in those things which were necessary "to enable me to discharge them as I ought?"

All that St. Austin thought on this subject, the several fathers of the church, who were charged with the ministry of preaching, have thought and practised in the same manner: St Basil, St. Gregory Nazienzen, St. Chrysostom, did thus, and pointed out the same course to their successors. This study therefore is necessary to all, and may be of vast use. There are a great number of clergymen, who, though of small abilities in other respects, are appointed however to instruct children, the common people or peasants, whom the bare study of the Holy Scriptures, and especially of the New Testament, will enable to acquit successfully of their duty; and in whom this study, if carefully followed, will supply what they may want with regard to learning and Eloquence. [*l*] St. Austin advises, that the poorer they find themselves, the more they ought to borrow the riches of the Scriptures; that they should take from these an authority they could never have had for themselves, by enforcing

[*l*] Quanto se pauperiorem cernit in suis tanto eum oportet in istis esse ditiorem: ut quòd dixerit suis verbis, probet ex illis; & qui prò priis verbis minor erat, magnorum testimonio quodammodo crescat. De Doct. Chr. l. 4. c. 5.

their

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their own words for their testimony; and that they should find in their greatness and strength, the means to grow in strength of mind, and to fortify themselves by those divine aids.

THE STUDY OF THE FATHERS.

But, in order to discharge the more worthily so sublime and important a ministry, we must join to the study of Sacred Writings, that of the doctors of the church, who are the true interpreters of it, and whom Christ, the sole sovereign of men, condescended to associate in that honourable quality, by enlightening them particularly with his word.

The Eloquence of the Pulpit has an advantage over that of the bar, which is not sufficiently valued, nor, in my opinion, sufficiently practised. In the latter, the orator draws almost every thing he is to say, from his own understanding. He may make use of some thoughts, and some turns, borrowed from the ancients, but then he is not allowed to copy them; and though he were allowed this, his subject would seldom admit of it. But it is otherwise with a preacher; for, what subject soever he may treat, a spacious field is open to him in the Greek and Latin fathers, where he is sure to find all the most just and solid particulars which can be said on the same head; not only principles and their consequences; truths, and the proofs of them; the rules, and their application; but even very often the thoughts and turns; insomuch, than an orator of no great abilities is on a sudden enriched by the wealth of others, which becomes in some measure his own by the use he makes of it. And so far from its being a crime in him to adorn himself thus with these precious spoils; he ought, on the contrary, to be censured, in case he presumed to prefer his own thoughts to those of such great men, who, by a peculiar privilege, were destined to instruct all ages and nations after their death.

I do not pretend, in speaking thus, to confine the labour of preachers to extracting the most beautiful passages

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sages from the fathers, and delivering them so detached to their hearers. However, though they should do this, their flock would not be thereby less instructed; nor would their case be very hard, should they still have St. Ambrose, St. Austin, and St. Chrysostom, for their pastors. I have heard a clergyman in Paris, who was very much followed and admired, though most of his sermons were borrowed from Mr. Tourneux and Mr. Nicole. And indeed, what need the people care whence what they hear is borrowed, provided it be excellent, and well adapted to their instruction; but a preacher is allowed to lend, or rather to join his Eloquence to that of those great men, by borrowing from them the substance of his proofs and arguments: and expressing them after his manner, without following them servilely. If he undertakes, for instance, to shew why God permits just men to be afflicted in this life, St. Chrysostom, in his first homily to the people of Antioch, supplies him with ten or twelve different reasons, all supported by texts of Scripture; and adds a great number in other discourses. St. Austin has also some wonderful passages on this subject, which he treated often, because this instruction and consolation have in all ages been necessary to the good and just. Can a preacher of genius and elocution, finding himself in the midst of these immense riches, of which he is allowed to take whatever he pleases, fail of delivering himself in a great, noble, majestic, and at the same time solid and instructive manner? A person, who is a little conversant with the fathers, immediately discovers whether a discourse flows from those sources; whether the proofs and principles were taken from thence; and though the preacher be ever so eloquent or solid in other respects, yet if he is deficient in this part, he wants something very essential.

I again repeat that this advantage is of inestimable value, and does not require infinite pains or time. Some years of retirement would suffice for this study, how extensive soever it may appear: and that man, who

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who should have made himself master only of the homilies of St. John Chrysostom, and St. Austin's sermons on the Old and New Testament, with some other little treatises of the latter, would find in them all that is necessary to form an excellent preacher. These two great masters would alone suffice to teach him in what manner he is to instruct his flock, by teaching them religion thoroughly and from principles, and by clearly explaining to them its tenets and morality; but above all, by making them perfectly acquainted with Christ, his doctrine, actions, sufferings, mysteries, and annexing these several instructions to the text of Scripture itself, the explication of which is equally adapted to the capacities, and the taste, both of the learned and unlearned; and fixes truth in the mind, in a more easy and agreeable manner.

One cannot inculcate too much to young men, after St. Austin's example, the necessity they will be under, in case God should one day call them to the ecclesiastical ministry, of going through a course of solid studies, of making the Scriptures familiar to themselves, and of taking the holy fathers for their guides and masters before they undertake to teach others.

SECT. V.

OF THE ELOQUENCE OF THE SACRED WRITINGS.

WHEN I propose to make some reflections here on the Eloquence of the Scriptures, I am far from being willing to confound them with those upon profane authors, by making youth remark only such things as please the ear, delight the imagination, and form the taste. The design of God, in speaking to mankind by the Scriptures, was not undoubtedly to foment their pride and curiosity, or to make them orators and learned men, but to amend their hearts. His intention in those sacred books, is not to please the imagination, or to teach us to move

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that of others, but to purify and convert us, and to recal us from abroad, whither our senses lead us, to our hearts, where his grace enlightens and instructs us.

It is certain that the Divine Wisdom has every kind of blessing in her train, and that all the qualities which the world respect, and can only receive from her, are at her disposal. And how would it be possible for her not to be eloquent, she who [*m*] opens the mouth of the dumb, and makes little children eloquent? [*n*] *Who hath made man's mouth?* says he, speaking to Moses, who thought himself not possessed of a good utterance, *Who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? have not I, the Lord?*

But the Divine Wisdom, in order to make itself more accessible and more eligible, has condescended to stoop to our language, to assume our tone of voice, and to stammer, as it were, with children. Hence it is, that the chief and almost universal characteristic of the Scriptures, is simplicity.

This is still more apparent in the New Testament, and St. Paul discovers to us a very sublime reason of it. The Creator's design, at first, was to win over men to the knowledge of himself, by the use of their reason, and by contemplation on the wisdom of his works. In this first plan, and manner of teaching, every thing was great and magnificent, every thing answered to the majesty of the God who spake, and the greatness of him who was instructed. But sin has destroyed that order, and occasioned a quite opposite method to be used. [*o*] *For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.* Now part of this folly consists in the simplicity of the evangelical word and doctrine. God was determined to discredit the vanity of Eloquence, of knowledge, and the wisdom of philosophers; and to bring into contempt the pomp of human pride, in dictating the books of Scripture, by which only mankind are

[*m*] Wisd. x. 2. [*n*] Exod. iv. 10, 11. [*o*] 1 Cor. i. 21.

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to be converted, in a style quite different from that of the heathen writers. These seem studious only of heightening their discourses by ornaments, whereas the sacred penmen never endeavour to display wit in their writings, that they may bereave Christ's cross of the honour of converting the world, by giving it either to the charms of Eloquence, or to the force of human reason.

If therefore, notwithstanding the simplicity, which is the true characteristic of the Scriptures, we meet with such beautiful, such sublime passages in them; it is very remarkable, that this beauty, this sublimity, does not arise from a far-fetched, laboured elocution, but from the things, which are so great, so lofty in themselves, that they must necessarily appear magnificent when clothed in words.

Add to this, the Divine Wisdom has employed the same method in speaking to men, as it did in the incarnation, by which it wrought their salvation. It was indeed veiled and darkened by the disagreeable outside of infamy, silence, poverty, contradictions, humiliations, and sufferings: but then it always suffered rays of majesty and power to escape through those veils, which clearly discover the divinity. This double character of simplicity and majesty is conspicuous also in every part of the Sacred Writings: and when we seriously examine, what this Wisdom suffered for our salvation, and caused to be wrote for our instruction, we discover equally in both, the eternal Word, by whom all things were made, *In principio erat verbum*; this is the source of its grandeur; but its assuming the flesh for our sakes, *& verbum caro factum est;* this is the cause of its weakness.

It was necessary to use these precautions, and to lay down these principles, before I undertook to point out in the Scriptures, such particulars as relate to Eloquence. For otherwise, by setting too high a value on these kind of beauties, we should expose young people to the danger of having less veneration for those passages of Scripture where it is more accessible to

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to *little ones*, although it be as divine in those places as in any other, and often conceals more profound things; or we should expose them to another danger, equally to be avoided, which is, to neglect those very things which wisdom says to us, and to attend only to the manner in which she says them; and by that means to set a less value on the salutary counsel she gives us, than on the strokes of Eloquence which fall from her. Now, it is injurious to her, to admire only her train, and not look upon herself; or to be more touched with the gifts she often bestows on her enemies, than with the graces which she reserves for her children and disciples.

I shall run over different matters, but not in a very exact order. I have observed elsewhere, that most of the reflections the reader will find here on the Scriptures, are not mine; which indeed their beauty of style will shew.

I. SIMPLICITY OF THE MYSTERIOUS WRITINGS.

**They crucified him there.*

The more we reflect on the inimitable character of the Evangelists, the more we discover that they were not directed by the spirit of man. These barely say in few words, that their master was crucified, without discovering the least surprise, compassion, or gratitude. Who would have spoke in this manner of a friend, that had laid down his life for him? What son would have related in so short, so unaffected a manner, how his father had saved him from death, by suffering in his stead? But it is in this that the finger of God appears conspicuous; and the less man appears in a conduct so little human, the more evident is the operation of God.

[*p*] The prophets describe Christ's sufferings in a lively, affecting, and pathetic manner, and abound with sentiments and reflections; but the evangelists

* Luke xxii. 33. Isai. l. liii. Jer. xviii, &c.
[*p*] David, Ps. x, xi, & lxviii.

relate

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relate them with simplicity, without emotion, or reflections; without breaking out into admiration or testimonies of gratitude; or discovering the least design to make their readers the disciples of Christ. It was not natural, that persons who lived so many years before Christ, should be so touched with his sufferings: nor that men who were eye-witnesses of his cross and so zealous for his glory, should speak with so much calmness of the unheard-of crime that was perpetrated against him. The strong zeal and affection of the apostles might have been suspected, which that of the prophets could not be. But had not the evangelists and the prophets been inspired, the former would have writ with greater force and fire, and the latter with more coolness and indifference; the one would have shewn a desire to persuade, and the other such a timidity and hesitation in their conjectures as would not have affected any one. All the prophets are ardent, zealous, full of respect and veneration for the mysteries they publish; but as for the evangelists, they are calm, and have an inimitable moderation, though their zeal is as strong as that of the prophets. What man but sees the hand which guided both the one and the other? And what more sensible proof can we have of the divinity of the Scriptures than their not resembling, in any particular, such things as are written by men? But at the same time how much should such an example, and there are multitudes of the same kind, teach us to receive the august simplicity of the sacred books, which frequently conceal the most sublime truths and the most profound mysteries?

[q] It is much in the same manner, the Scripture relates, that Isaac was laid by Abraham, on the wood which was to be his funeral pile, and was bound before he was sacrificed, without telling us one word either of the sentiments of the son, or his father's discourse to him; or preparing us for such a sacrifice by any reflections, or telling us in what manner the fa-

[q] Gen. xxii.

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ther and son submitted to it. Josephus the historian puts a pretty long, but very beautiful and moving discourse into Abraham's mouth; but Moses describes him as silent, and is himself silent on that occasion. The reason of this is, the former wrote as a man, and as his genius prompted him; whereas the other was the pen and instrument of the Spirit of God, who dictated all his words.

II. SIMPLICITY AND GRANDEUR.

[r] *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.* What man who was to have treated of such exalted matters, would have begun as Moses did? How majestic, and at the same time, how simple is this? Do we not perceive, that it is God himself who informs us of a wonder which does not astonish him, and to which he is superior? A common man would have endeavoured to suit the magnificence of his expressions to the grandeur of his subject, and would have discovered only his weakness; but eternal Wisdom, who made the world in [s] sport, relates it without emotion.

The prophets, whose aim was to make us admire the wonders of the creation, speak of it in a very different manner.

[t] *The Lord is King, and hath put on glorious apparel; the Lord hath put on his apparel, and girded himself with strength.*

The holy king, transported in spirit at the first origin of the world, describes in the most pompous expressions, in what manner God, who hitherto had remained unknown, invisible, and hid in the impenetrable secret of his being, manifested himself on a sudden, by a crowd of incomprehensible wonders.

The Lord, says he, at last comes forth from his solitude, He will not be alone happy, just, holy; but will reign by his goodness and bounty. But with

[r] Gen. i. 1. [t] Pſ. xciii. 1.
[s] Prov. viii. 31.

what

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what glory is the immortal King invested! What riches has he displayed to us! From what source do so many lights and beauties flow? Where were those treasures, that rich pomp hid, which issued out from the womb of darkness? How great must the majesty of the Creator be, if that which surrounds him imprints so great an awe and veneration! What must he himself be, when his works are so magnificent!

The same prophet, in another Psalm, coming out of a profound meditation on the works of God, and filled with admiration and gratitude, exhorts himself to praise and bless the infinite majesty and goodness, whose wonders astonish, and whose blessings oppress him. [u] *Praise the Lord, O my soul; O Lord my God, thou art become exceeding glorious, thou art clothed with majesty and honour. . . Thou deckest thyself with light, as it were with a garment; and spreadest out the heavens like a curtain.* Would not one think that the God of ages had clothed himself on a sudden with magnificence; and that, issuing from the secret part of his palace, he displayed himself in light? But all this is but his outward clothing, and as a mantle which hides him. Thy Majesty, O my God! is infinitely above the light that surrounds it. I fix my eyes on thy garments, not being able to fix them on thyself: I can discern the rich embroidery of thy purple, but I shall cease to see thee, should I dare to raise my eyes to thy face.

It will be of use to compare in this manner the simplicity of the historian, with the sublime magnificence of the prophets. These speak of the same things, but in quite a different view. The same may be observed with regard to all the circumstances of the creation. I shall present the reader with only a few of them, by which he may form a judgment of the rest.

[x] *God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; He made the stars also.*

[u] Psal. civ. 1, 2. [x] Gen. i. 16.

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Can any thing be more simple, and at the same time more august? I shall speak only of the sun and stars, and will begin with the last.

God only is allowed to speak with indifference of the most astonishing spectacle with which he had adorned the universe: *And the stars.* He declares in one word, what cost him but a word; but who can fathom the vast extent of this word? Do we consider that these stars are innumerable, all infinitely greater than the earth; all, the planets excepted, an inexhaustible source of light? [*y*] But what order fixed their ranks? and whom does that host of heaven, all whose centinels are so watchful, obey with so much punctuality and joy? The firmament set with such a numberless multitude of stars, [*z*] is the first preacher who declares the glory of the Almighty; and, to make all men inexcusable, we need only that book written in characters of light.

As for the sun, who can behold it stedfastly, and bear for any length of time the splendor of its rays? [*a*] *The sun when it appeareth, declares at its rising a marvellous instrument, the work of the most High; at noon it parcheth the country, and who can abide the burning heat thereof? A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat, but the sun burneth the mountains three times more; breathing out fiery vapours, and sending forth bright beams, it dimmeth the eyes. Great is the Lord that made it, and at his commandment it runneth hastily.* Is this then the same sun, which is mentioned in Genesis in so plain and simple a manner: *He made its light greater that it might preside over the day?* How many beauties are comprehended, and, as it were, veiled under these few words? Can we conceive the pomp and profusion with which the sun begins its course; the colours with which he embellishes nature; and with what magnificence himself is arrayed at his appearing on the horizon as the spouse whom heaven and earth await, and whose delight he forms? *He cometh forth out of his chamber as a*

[*y*] Baruc. iii. 34, 35. [*z*] Psalm. xix. 1. [*a*] Eccl. xliii. 2, 5.

bride-

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bridegroom. But behold in what manner he unites the majesty and graces of a bridegroom, with the rapid course of a giant, who is less studious to please, than to carry, throughout the world, the news of the prince who sends him, and who is less attentive to his dress than to his duty. *He exulted as a giant who is to run his race. He came from the highest heaven, and his course is to its height; nor can one hide himself from his heat.* His light is as strong and diffusive as at the first day, so that the perpetual deluge of fire, which spreads from all parts of it, has not diminished the incomprehensible source of so full and precipitated a profusion. The prophet has just reason to cry out, *Great is the Lord who made it!* How great is the majesty of the Creator, and what must he himself be, since his works are so august?

I shall add farther that passage which relates to the creation of the sea: [*b*] *God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear.*

Had not the prophets assisted us in discovering the wonders concealed under the surface of these words, their depth would be more unfathomable with regard to us, than that of the sea.

This commandment, which is here but a single expression, is a dreadful menace, and a thunder, according to the prophet [*c*] *The waters stood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled: at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away.* Instead of running off gently, they fled with fear; they hasted to precipitate themselves, and to crowd one over the other, in order to leave that space void which they seemed to have usurped, since God drove them from thence. Something like this happened when God made his people to pass through the Red Sea and the river Jordan, *The Red Sea made a noise, and was dried up;* whence another prophet takes occasion [*d*] to ask God, whether he is angry at the river and the seas.

[*b*] Gen. i. 9.
[*c*] Psalms civ. 6, 7.
[*d*] Habak. iii. 8.

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In this tumultuous obedience, where the frighted waters, one would imagine, should have swept away every thing in their course, an invisible hand governed them with as much ease as a mother governs and handles a child she had first swathed, and afterwards put in his cradle. It is under these images God represents to us what he did at that time. [e] *Who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth as if it had issued out of the womb? When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkness a swadling band for it; and brake up for it my decreed place, and set bars and doors, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.* There is no occasion to raise the beauty of these last words, for who is not affected with them? God marked out bounds to the sea, and it did not dare to transgress them: [f] that which was written on its shores prevented it from going beyond them; and that element, which appears the most ungovernable, was equally obedient both in its flight and in its stay. This obedience has continued the same for many ages; and how tumultuous soever the waves may appear, the instant they come near the shore, God's prohibition keeps them in awe, and stops their progress.

III. THE BEAUTY OF THE SCRIPTURES DOES NOT ARISE FROM THE WORDS, BUT THE THINGS.

It is well known, that the most excellent Greek and Latin authors lose most of their graces when translated literally; because a great part of their beauty consists in the expression: but as that of the Scriptures consists more in the things than the words, we find that it subsists and strikes in the most verbal translation, This will plainly appear from every part of the Scripture. I shall content myself with transcribing only two or three passages from it.

1. [g] *Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth. In mine ears*

[e] Job xxxviii. 8, 10. [f] Jerem. v. 22. [g] Isa. v. 8, 9.

said

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said the Lord of hosts, of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even great and fair without inhabitant.

There is nothing in all the Eloquence of the heathens, comparable to the vivacity of the reproach which the prophet here makes to the wise men of his time, who, neglecting the law of God, which had assigned to every man in particular, a proportion of the promised land, with a prohibition to alienate it for ever; swallowed up in their vast parks, the vineyard, the field, and the house of those who were so unhappy as to live near them.

But the reflection which the prophet adds, seems to me no less eloquent, notwithstanding its great simplicity; *In mine ears said the Lord of hosts.* I hear the Lord; his voice is at my ear. Whilst the whole world attends to nothing but their pleasures, and that no one hears the law of God, I already hear his thunder roaring against those ambitious rich men, who think of nothing but building and establishing their abode upon the earth. God echoes in mine ear a perpetual threat against their vain enterprises, and a kind of oath more dreadful than the threat itself, because it proves the latter ready to break forth, and irrevocable: *Of a truth many houses shall be desert, &c.*

2. The same prophet describes the characteristics of the Messiah in a wonderful manner. [*h*] *For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of peace.*

I shall consider only the following expression, *and the goverment shall be upon his shoulder;* this includes a wonderful image, and has a peculiar energy when considered with due attention.

Jesus Christ shall be born an infant, but then he shall not wait either for years or experience before he reigns. He shall not stand in need of being acknowledged by his subjects, nor of being assisted by his armies, in order to subdue rebels; for he himself will be

[*h*] Isaiah ix. 6.

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his strength, his power, his royalty. He shall differ infinitely from other kings, who cannot be such unless they are acknowledged by some state; and who fall into the condition of private men, if their subjects refuse to obey them. Their authority is not their own, nor from themselves, nor can they give it duration. But the child who shall be born, even when he shall appear to be in want of all things, and to be incapable of commanding, shall bear all the weight of divine majesty and royalty. [*i*] He shall support every thing by his efficacy and power; and his sovereign authority resides fully and wholly in himself, *and the government shall be upon his shoulder.* Nothing shall prove this better than the manner in which he shall chuse to reign. He must have from himself, and independant of all exterior means, a sovereign power, in order to make him be worshipped by mankind, notwithstanding the ignominy of the cross, which he shall vouchsafe to take upon himself; and to change the instrument of his punishment into the instrument of his victory, and the most splendid mark of his sovereignty; *the government shall be upon his shoulder.*

Those who study the Scriptures attentively, find that the beauty of it consists in the strength and greatness of the thoughts.

IV. DESCRIPTION.

1. Cyrus was the greatest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince mentioned in history, the reason of which the Scripture gives us, *viz.* that God himself had taken a pleasure in forming him, for the accomplishment of his intended mercy to his people. He calls him by his name two hundred years before his birth, and declares, that he himself will set the crown on his head, and put a sword in his hand, in order to make him the deliverer of his people.

[*k*] *Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right-hand I have holden, to subdue nations be-*

[*i*] Heb. i. 3. Isa. xl. 10. [*k*] Isa. xlv. 1, 2. 5.

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fore him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron... I am the Lord, and there is none else; there is no God besides me. I girded thee though thou hast not known me.

In another place, he commands Cyrus, king of the Persians, then called Elamites, to set out with the Medes; he orders the siege to be made, and the walls to fall down. [*l*] *March, Elam; Mede, do thou besiege. In fine, Babylon will no longer make others sigh.* Let him come now at my command; let him join with the Medes; let him besiege a city which is an enemy to my worship and to my people; let him obey me without knowing me; let him follow me with his eyes shut; let him execute my commands without being either of my counsel, or in my confidence; and let him teach all princes, and even all men, how I am sovereign over empires, events, and even wills; since I make myself to be equally obeyed by kings, and every private soldier in the armies, without having any occasion either to reveal myself, or to exhort, or employ any other means than my will, which is also my power. [*m*] *That they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none besides me; I am the Lord, and there is none else.*

How majestic are these few words! *Go up, Elam;* Prince of the Persians, set out. *Besiege, Mede:* and you, prince of the Medes, form the siege. *I have made all their groans to cease:* Babylon is taken and plundered: it has no power; its tyranny is at an end.

2. The Scriptures have painted in the strongest colours, how greatly sensible God is to the oppression of the poor and weak, as well as to the injustice of the judges and the mighty of the earth.

[*n*] Isaiah represents truth feeble and trembling, imploring, but in vain, the assistance of the judges,

[*l*] Isa. xxi. 2.
[*m*] Ibid. xlv. 6.
[*n*] Ibid. lix. 14—16.

and

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and representing herself to no purpose before every tribunal. Access is denied her every where; she is in all places rejected, forgotten, and trodden under foot. Interest prevails over right, and the good man is delivered up a prey to the unjust. *And the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no judgment. And he saw that there was no man, and he wondered that there was no intercessor.*

His silence would make me conclude, either that he does not see those disorders, or that he is indifferent to them. It is not so, says the prophet in another place; every thing is prepared for judgment, whilst men are not thinking any thing of the matter. [o] The invisible judge is present. He is standing in order to take in hand the defence of those who have no other; and to pronounce a very different sentence against the unjust, and in behalf of those who are poor and weak. *The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of his people, and the princes thereof; for ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in their houses. What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? says the Lord God of hosts.* Nothing can be stronger or more eloquent than the reproaches which God makes in this place, to the judges and princes of his people. How! You who ought to defend my people, as a vine that was committed to your care; you who ought to serve as a hedge and a rampart to it; it is you yourselves have made wild havoc of this vine, and ruined it, as though the [p] fire had past over it. *And you eat the vine.* Had you been but a little tender to your brethren, and not ruined them entirely! but after you had stripped my people, you lay them in the wine-presses, in order to squeeze the marrow out to their bones: *You bruise them*; you crush them under the mill, in order to grind them to dust; *you grind them.* You perhaps intend to conceal your thefts and rapine from me, by converting them into proud furniture for the ornament of your houses. I

[o] Isa. iii. 13—15. [p] So the original says.

have

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have followed with attentive and jealous eyes, all you have despoiled your brother of; and see it, notwithstanding your great endeavours to hide it. *The spoil of the poor is in your houses.* Every thing calls aloud for vengeance, and shall obtain it; it shall fall on you and your children; and the son of an unjust father, as he inherits his crime, will also inherit my anger. [q] *Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and stablisheth a city by iniquity. For the stones shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it.*

We observe a quite opposite character in the person of Job, who was the pattern or example of a good judge and a good prince. [r] *For from my youth compassion was brought up with me as with a father, and I have guided her from my mother's womb. . . . I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem. . . . I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. . . I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. . . . I was a father to the poor. . . . I brake the jaws of the wicked, and pluckt the spoil out of his teeth.*

3. I shall conclude with a description of a very different kind from those which preceded it, but no less remarkable; it is that of a war-horse, which God himself described in the book of Job.

[s] *Hast thou,* says God to Job, *given the horse strength? Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder? Canst thou make him afraid as a grashopper? The glory of his nostrils is terrible. He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength: he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; neither turneth he back from the sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with*

[q] Hab. ii. 11, 12. 14—17.
[r] Job xxxi. 18. xxix. 12, [s] Ibid. xxxix. 19—25.

fierceness

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fierceness and rage; neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet. He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha; and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and shouting.

Every word of this would merit an explication, in order to display the beauties of it; but I shall take notice only of the latter, which give a kind of understanding and speech to the horse.

Armies are a long time before they are set in battle array, and are sometimes a great while in view of one another without moving. All the motions are marked by particular signals, and the soldiers are appointed to perform their various duties, by the sound of trumpet. This slowness is importunate to the horse; as he is ready at the first sound of the trumpet, he is very impatient to find the army must so often have notice given to it. He repines secretly against all these delays, and not being able to continue in his place, nor to disobey orders, he strikes the ground perpetually with his hoof, and complains, in his way, that the soldiers lose their time in gazing one upon another. *He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage.* In his impatience, he considers as nothing all such signals as are not decisive, and which only point out some circumstances to which he is not attentive; *neither believeth he that it is the sound of a trumpet.* But when it is in earnest, and that the last blast of the trumpet calls to battle, then the whole countenance of the horse is changed. One would conclude that he distinguishes, as by his smell, that the battle is going to begin; and that he heard the general's order distinctly, and answers the confused cries of the army, by a noise, which discovers his joy and courage. *He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha; and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and shouting.*

If the reader compares Homer's and Virgil's admirable descriptions of the horse, he will find how vastly superior this is to them both.

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V. FIGURES.

It would be an endless labour to run over all the different kinds of figures in the Scriptures. The passages above cited include a large number, and to these I shall add a few more, especially of those that are most common, such as the metaphor, the simile, the repetition, the apostrophe, and the prosopopœia.

1. *The Metaphor and the Simile.*

[t] *I have always dreaded the anger of God, as waves hanging over my head, and I could not bear the weight of them.* What an idea does this give us of God's anger! waves that swallow up every thing, a weight that overwhelms and dashes to pieces. [u] *I shall bear the anger of the Lord.* How can we bear it to all eternity?

Nor is the magnificence of God with regard to his elect, less difficult to be comprehended and explained. [x] *He will make them drunk with his blessings, and will overflow thee with a flood of delights.*

But there is another kind of drunkenness reserved for the wicked. [y] *Thou shalt be filled with drunkenness and sorrow,* says a prophet to wicked Jerusalem, *with the cup of astonishment and desolation, with the cup of thy sister Samaria. Thou shalt even drink it, and suck it out, and thou shalt break the shreds thereof, and pluck off thine own breasts: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord.* This is a dreadful picture of the rage of the damned, but infinitely fainter than truth.

2. *Repetition.*

[z] *Like as I have watched over them, to pluck up and to break down, and to throw down, and to destroy,*

[t] Job xxxi. 25.
[u] Mich. vii. 9.
[x] Psal. xxxv. 9.
[y] Ezek xxiii. 33, 34.
[z] Jer. xxxi. 28.

and

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and to afflict; so will I watch over them, to build, and to plant, saith the Lord. The conjunction here repeated several times, denotes, as it were, so many redoubled strokes of God's anger.

[*a*] *Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.* This repetition, which is also in [*b*] Isaiah, denotes that the fall of this great city will appear incredible; and that every one, before he will believe it is really fallen, will cause it to be repeated several times to him.

[*c*] *Now will I rise, saith the Lord; now will I be exalted, now will I lift up myself.* That is to say, after having a long time to lie asleep, he will at length come out of his sleep, to undertake the defence of his people with splendor, and that the moment is come; *Now, now.* God expresses himself still more strongly in the same prophet. [*d*] *I have a long time holden my peace, I have been still and restrained myself: now will I cry like a travailing woman; I will destroy and devour at once.*

3. *Apostrophe, Prosopopœia.*

These two figures are often blended. The latter consists chiefly in giving life, sentiment, or speech to inanimate things, or in addressing discourse to them.

In the cxxxviith Psalm, it is a citizen of Jerusalem banished to Babylon, who sitting mournfully on the banks of the river which watered that city, breathes his grief and complaints, in turning his eyes towards his dear country. His masters who kept him in captivity, urged him to play some airs on his musical instrument for their diversion. But he, filled with grief and indignation, cries out, [*e*] *How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.*

[*a*] Rev. xiv. 8.
[*b*] Isa. xxi. 9.
[*c*] Ibid. xxxii. 10.
[*d*] Ibid. xlii. 14.
[*e*] Psal. cxxxvii. 4—6.

If

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If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. How tender! how affecting, does this apostrophe to the city of Jerusalem make the discourse of this banished Jew! He imagines he sees it, discourses with it, protests with an oath, that he will lose his voice and the use of his tongue, and that of his instruments, rather than forget it, by partaking in the false joys of Babylon.

The sacred writers make a wonderful use of the prosopopœia, and Jerusalem is often the object of it. I shall content myself with pointing out only a single example taken from [*f*] Baruch, where that prophet describes the unhappiness of the Jews who are led captives to Babylon. He introduces Jerusalem as a mother in the deepest affliction, but at the same time obedient to the instructions of God, how rigorous soever, who exhorts her children to obey the sentence which condemns them to banishment; who bewails her solitary condition and their miseries; who represents to them, that it is the just punishment for their prevarications and ingratitude; who gives them salutary advice, in order to their making an holy use of their severe captivity; and, who, at last, full of confidence in the goodness and promises of God, promises them a glorious return. The prophet afterwards addresses himself to Jerusalem, and comforts her, from the prospect that her children will be recalled, and the several advantages to succeed their return. *Put off, O Jerusalem, the garment of thy mourning and affliction, and put on the comeliness and the glory that cometh from God for ever. . . . For thy name shall be called of God for ever, the peace of righteousness, and the glory of God's worship.*

Nothing is more common in the Scriptures than to give life to the sword of God. [*g*] God lays his command on it, it sharpens, it polishes itself, prepares to obey; sets out at the appointed moment; goes where God sends it, devours his enemies, fattens itself with their flesh, gets drunk with their blood; grows hot

[*f*] Baruch v. 1—4. [*g*] Ezek. xxi. 28. ix. 10. Isa. xxxiv. 6.

with

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with slaughter; and after having executed its master's commands, returns to its place. The prophet Jeremiah unites almost all these ideas in one place, and adds others more animated to them. [h] *O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? Put up thyself into thy scabbard; rest and be still. How can it be quiet,* replies the prophet, *seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon, and against the sea shore? there hath he appointed it.*

VI. SUBLIME PASSAGES.

[i] *God said, let there be light, and there was light:* It is in the original, God said, *Let light be, and light was.*

Where was it a moment before? How could it spring from the very womb of darkness? At the same instant with light, the several colours which spring from it, embellished all nature. The world, that had been hitherto plunged in darkness, seemed to issue a second time out of nothing; and every thing by being enlightened, was beautified.

[k] This was produced by a single word, the majesty of which even struck the heathens, who admired Moses's making God speak as a sovereign; and that instead of employing expressions, which a little genius would have thought magnificent, he contented himself with only, *God said, let there be light, and there was light.*

And indeed, nothing can be greater or more elevated than this way of thinking. To create light (and it is the same here with regard to the universe) God needed only to speak: it would be too much to say, he needed only to have willed it, [l] for the voice of God is will; he speaks as a commander, and commands by his decrees.

[h] Jer. xlvii. 6, 7.
[i] Gen. i. 3.
[k] Longin.
[l] Dicere Dei, voluisse est. S. Eucher. Naturæ opifex lucem locutus est. & creavit. Sermo Dei, voluntas est: opus Dei, natura est. S. Ambrose.

The

The vulgate has a little lessened the vivacity of the expression: *God said, let the light be made, and the light was made.* For the word *made*, which has different progressions among men, and supposes a succession of times, seems in some sort to retard the work of God, which was performed at the very moment he willed it, and received its perfection in an instant.

The prophet Isaiah makes God deliver himself, with the same sublimity, when he foretels the taking of Babylon. [*m*] *I am the Lord that maketh all things, that stretcheth forth the heavens alone, that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself; . . That saith to the deep* [*n*], *be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers; That saith of Cyrus, he is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid.*

The kings of Syria and Israel had sworn the destruction of Judah, and the measures they had taken for that purpose, seemed to make its ruin unavoidable. A single word baffles their design, [*o*] *Thus saith the Lord God, it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass.*

The same thought is amplified in another place; and the prophet who knows that God has promised to prolong the race of David, till the time of the Messiah who was to spring from him, defies, with a holy pride, the vain efforts of the princes and nations who conspired to destroy the family and throne of David. [*p*] *Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear all ye of far countries: gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand: for God is with us.* Isaiah here prophesies in words suitable to the infinite power of God, that though all men should unite together, they yet should not

[*m*] Isa. xliv. 24, 27, 28.
[*n*] He names the Euphrates, which Cyrus dried up in order to take Babylon.
[*o*] Isa. vii. 7.
[*p*] Isa. viii. 9, 10.

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retard, one instant, immutable promises; that confederacies, conspiracies, secret designs, powerful armies should have no effect; that all those who attack the weak kingdom of Judah, should be overcome; that the whole universe united should not be able to effect any thing against it: and that the circumstance which would render it invincible, was, *God's being with it*, or, which is the same thing, because Emanuel was his protector and his king, and that *his* interest was the present concern, rather than that of the princes he was to spring from.

Numberless obstacles opposed Zerubbabel's design of causing the temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt; and these obstacles, like so many mountains, seemed to defy all human efforts. God only speaks, but with the voice of a sovereign, and the mountain vanishes: *Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain.*

Every one knows with what energy the Scriptures make the impious man vanish, who a moment before seemed, like the cedar, to raise his proud head to the skies. [q] *I have seen the wicked in great power; and spreading himself like a green bay-tree: yet he passed away, and lo, he was not: yea I sought him, but he could not be found.* He is so completely annihilated, that the very place where he stood was destroyed. M. Racine has translated this passage as follows:

J'ai vu l'impie adoré sur la terre,
Pareil au cédre, il cachoit dans les cieux
Son front audacieux.
Il sembloit à son gré gouverner le tonnerre,
Fouloit aux piés ses ennemis vaincus,
Je n'ai fait que passer, il n'étoit déja plus [r].

Englished.

"I've seen the impious wretch ador'd on earth,
"And, like the cedar, hide his daring front
"High in the heavens. He seem'd to rule at will

[q] Psal. xxxvii. 35, 36. [r] Esther, Act v. scène derniere.

The

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"The forked thunder, and to crush his captives.—
"I only past, and lo! he was no more."

Such is the grandeur of the most formidable princes, when they do not fear God; a smoke, a vapour, a shadow, a dream, a vain image: [s] *Men walketh in a vain shadow.*

But, on the other side, what a noble idea do the Scriptures give us of the greatness of God! [t] He is He who is. His name is The Eternal; the whole world is his work. The heaven is his throne, and the earth his footstool. All nations are before him but as a drop of water, and the earth they inhabit but as a particle of dust. The whole universe is before the Almighty as though it were not. His power and wisdom conduct it, and regulate all the motions of it with as much ease as an hand holds a light weight, with which it sports rather than bears it. [u] He disposes of kingdoms as the absolute sovereign of them, and gives them to whom he pleases; but both his empire and power are infinite.

All this appears to us great and sublime, and is indeed so when compared to us. But when we speak to men in words they are capable of understanding, what can we say that is worthy of God? The Scriptures themselves sink under the weight of his majesty, and the expressions they use, how magnificent soever they may be, bear no proportion to the greatness, which alone deserves that name.

This, Job observes in a wonderful manner. After having related the wonders of the creation, he concludes with a very simple, but, at the same time, a very sublime reflection: [x] *Lo, these are parts of his ways: but how little a portion is heard of him? but the thunder of his power who can understand?* The little he discovers to us of his infinite grandeur, bears no proportion to what he is, and nevertheless surpasses our understanding. He stoops, and we

[s] Psalm xxxix. 6.
[t] Exod. iii. 14. Isa. lxvi. 1.
[u] Dan. vi. 14, 31.
[x] Job xxvi. 14. xl. 12, 15, 17.

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cannot rise to him, at the time that he descends to us. He is constrained to employ our thoughts and expressions in order to make himself intelligible; and even then, we are rather dazzled with his brightness, than truly enlightened. But how would it be, should he reveal himself in all his majesty? Should he lift up the veil which softens its rays? Should he tell us who he is, what ear could resist the thunder of his voice? What eye would not be blinded by a light so disproportioned to their weakness? *But the thunder of his power who can understand?*

VII. TENDER AND AFFECTING PASSAGES.

One would not believe, that such great majesty would descend so low as to speak to man, if the Scripture did not give us some proofs of it in every page. The most lively, the most tender things in nature, are all too faint to express his love.

[y] *I have nourished and brought up children,* says he by the mouth of Isaiah, *and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.*

[z] *And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyad, that I have not done in it? Wherefore when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?*

[a] *They say, If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, shall he return unto her again? Shall not that land be greatly polluted? But thou hast played the harlot with many lovers, yet return again to me, saith the Lord.*

[b] *Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, which are borne by me, from the belly, which are carried from the womb. And even to your old age I am he, and even*

[y] Isa. i. 2, 3.
[z] Ibid. v. 3, 4.
[a] Jer. iii. 1.
[b] Isa. xlvi. 3, 5

to

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to hoary hairs will I carry you: I have made, and I will bear, even I will carry and will deliver you.

[c] *As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem.*

[d] *But Zion said, The Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee.*

Though these comparisons are vastly tender, they yet are not enough so, to denote his tenderness and solicitude for men who so little deserve it. This sovereign of the universe does not disdain to compare himself to a hen, who has her wings perpetually extended, in order to receive her young ones under them; and he declares, that the least of his servants is as dear to him as the apple of his eye. [e] *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!* He himself, speaking of his people, says thus; [f] *He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye.*

Hence come these expressions so usual in Scripture; and it is surprising, that creatures should dare to use them when they speak of God: [g] *Keep me as the apple of thine eye; hide me under the shadow of thy wings.* To what man, O my God, could I speak in this manner, and to whom could I say that I am as precious as the apple of his eye? But you yourself inspire, and enjoin this confidence. Nothing can be more delicate or weaker than the apple of the eye; and in that respect it is the image of myself. Be it so, O my God, in every thing else; and multiply thy succours with regard to me, as you have multiplied the precautions with regard to that, by securing it with eyelids. *Keep me as the apple of thine eye.* Mine enemies

[c] Isa lxvi. 13.
[d] Ibid. xlix. 14, 15.
[e] Mat. xxiii. 37.
[f] Zech. ii. 8.
[g] Psal. xvii. 8.

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surround me like birds of prey, and I cannot escape them, if I do not fly for shelter to thy bosom. You taught callow birds to withdraw beneath the shelter of their mother's wings; and have inspired mothers with a wonderful care and tenderness for their young ones. You have represented yourself in your own works, and have exhorted mankind to have recourse to you, by all the testimonies of your goodness, which you have diffused in the animals and over nature. Let me presume, O my God, to put a confidence in thee, proportionate to thy goodness for me. *Hide me under the shadow of thy wings.*

Nothing can be more affecting than the admirable story of Joseph; and one can scarce refrain from tears, [*h*] when we see him obliged to turn aside in order to dry his own, because his bowels yearned at the presence of Benjamin; or when, after having discovered himself, he throws himself about the neck of his dear brother, and folding him in the strictest embrace, mingles his tears with those of Benjamin, and discovers the same affectionate tenderness for the rest of his brethren, over each of whom it is said he wept. At that instant not one of them spoke, and this silence is infinitely more eloquent than any expressions he could have employed. Surprise, grief, the remembrance of what was past, joy, gratitude, stifle their words; the heart can express itself no other ways than by tears, which would, but cannot sufficiently express their thoughts.

When we read the sad [*i*] lamentation of Jeremiah over the ruins of Jerusalem; when we behold that city, once so populous, reduced to a dreadful solitude; the queen of nations become as a disconsolate widow; the streets of Zion weeping, because no one assists at its solemnities; her priests and virgins plunged in bitterness, groaning day and night; her old men, covered with sackcloth and ashes, sighing over the sad ruin of their country; her famished children

[*h*] Gen. xliii. 30. xlv. 12, 14, 15.

[*i*] Lament. i. 1—4. ii. 10. iv. 4.

crying

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crying for bread, but without getting any; we are ready to cry out with the prophet, [k] *O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!*

It was this deplorable state of Jerusalem that made the prophet vent perpetually such warm complaints, such tender prayers as these. [l] *Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of thy holiness, and of thy glory: Where is thy zeal and thy strength, the sounding of thy bowels, and of thy mercies towards me? Are they restrained? ...* [m] *But now, O Lord, thou art our father; we are the clay, and thou our potter, and we are all the work of thy hand.... Behold, see, we beseech thee, we are all thy people. Thy holy cities are a wilderness, Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burnt up with fire; and all our pleasant things are laid waste. Wilt thou refrain thyself for these things, O Lord? Wilt thou hold thy peace, and afflict us very sore?*

VIII. CHARACTERS.

It is not surprising, that the Spirit of God should have described, in the Scriptutes, the different characters of men in such lively colours. He implanted in our hearts all the rational sentiments they have; and he knows much better than we do, such as our degeneracy has added to them.

Who does not at once see the ingenuous candour and innocent simplicity of childhood, in the [n] relation which Joseph makes to his brethren of those dreams, which were to excite their jealousy and hatred against him, and which really had that effect?

When Joseph discovers himself to his family, he speaks a very few words, but then they are the ex-

[k] Jerem. ix. 1.
[l] Isa. lxiii. 15.
[m] Ibid. lxiv. 8—12.
[n] Gen. xxxvii. 8.

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pression of nature itself; [o] *I am Joseph: doth my father yet live?* This is one of those strokes of Eloquence which are inimitable. Josephus the historian was not touched with this beauty, or, at least, did not preserve it in his relation; for the long discourse he substitutes for it, though very beautiful, does not supply its place.

There is a passage in the Acts, which paints in a wonderful, and at the same time natural manner, a sudden and impetuous joy. St. Peter had been thrown into prison, and miraculously released from it; when he came to the house of Mary, mother to John, where the faithful were assembled in prayer, [p] having knocked at the door, a maiden named Rhoda, knowing his voice, instead of opening it, (so great were the transports of her joy) ran to the faithful, to tell them that St. Peter was at the door.

Grief, particularly that of a mother, has also a peculiar language and character. I do not know whether it would be possible to represent them better, than we find them in the admirable story of Tobias. As soon as this dear son was set out upon his journey, his mother, who loved him tenderly, was inconsolable for his absence; and being plunged in the deepest sorrow, she bewailed herself incessantly: but her affliction was infinitely greater, when she found he did not return at the time appointed: [q] *My son is dead, seeing he stayeth long: and she began to bewail him, and said: Now I care for nothing, my son, since I have let thee go, the light of mine eyes. My son is dead. And she went out every day into the way which they went, and did eat no meat in the day-time, and ceased not whole nights to bewail her son Tobias.* We may judge of the effect which Tobias's return with Raphael produced. *The dog, who had followed them all the way, ran before them, and as though he had carried the news of their arrival, he seemed to testify his joy by the motion of his tail, and his caresses. Tobias's father, though blind, rose up, and*

[o] Gen. xlv. 2, 3.
[p] Acts xii. 14.
[q] Tob. x. 4, 5, 7.

began

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began to run, though at the hazard of falling every moment; and taking one of the servants by the hand, he ran to meet his son. Being come up to him, he embraced him, and his mother afterwards, when they began to weep for joy. Then, after worshipping God, and returning him thanks, they sat down. This is a most exquisitely finished description; and the penman, in order to make it still more natural, did not omit even the circumstance of the dog, which is entirely natural.

A word which the ambitious Haman happens to let fall, discovers the whole state of their souls who abandon themselves to the insatiable desire of honours. He had reached the highest point of fortune to which a mortal could attain, and every one bowed the knee to him, except Mordecai. [r] *Yet*, says he to his friends in confidence, *all this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate.* M. Racine did not forget this circumstance, and has made a very happy use of it.

Dans les mains des Persans jeune enfant apporté,
Je gouverne l'empire où je fus acheté.
Mes richesses des rois égalent l'opulence.
Environné d'enfans, soutiens de ma puissance,
Il ne manque à mon front que le bandeau royal.
Cependant, des mortels aveuglement fatal!
De ces amas d'honneurs la douceur passagère
Fait sur mon cœur à peine une atteinte légère.
Mais Mardochée assis aux portes du palais
Dans ce cœur malheureux enfonce mille traits:
Et toute ma grandeur me devient insipide,
Tandis que le soleil éclaire ce perfide.

Englished.

" Brought when an infant into Persia's state,
" I rule the empire, where I once was sold.
" The richest kings I equal now in wealth;
" And bless'd with children who support my power,
" The royal diadem alone I have not.

[r] Esth. v. 13.

" And

" And yet what fatal blindness governs mortals!
" The transient sweets of all these mighty honours
" Convey but little pleasure to my heart,
" Whilst Mordecai, that sits before the gates
" Of the king's palace, racks my tortur'd soul:
" And all my grandeur is to me insipid,
" Whilst the bright sun beholds that wretch alive."

I shall conclude with a passage in Scripture, where the suppression of a single word describes in a wonderful manner the character of a person whose soul is strongly fixed on an object. The Spirit of God had revealed to David, that the ark would at last have a fixed habitation on mount Sion, where should be built the only temple he would have in the world. [*s*] This king and prophet, in the highest raptures, and in a manner drunk with holy ecstasies; without relating what passed within himself, nor whom he speaks of; and supposing that the minds of the rest of mankind as well as his own are entirely fixed on God, and on the mystery which had just been revealed to him, cries out; [*t*] *His foundation is in the holy mountains. The Lord loveth the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob.* He will therefore change his promises no more; and the Lord will no more depart from Israel: his habitation will henceforward be fixed among us; his ark will wander no more; his sanctuary will no longer be uncertain, and Zion shall in all ages be the seat of his rest; his foundation is in the holy mountains.

It is from the same sentiments of joy that Mary Magdalen, when she was seeking Christ in the grave, wholly intent upon the object of her love and desires, imagining it was a gardener she saw, says to him, without telling him whom she spake of, [*u*] *Sir, if thou hast borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.* [*x*] Transported,

[*s*] Repletus Spiritu Sancto civis iste, & multa de amore & desiderio civitatis hujus volvens secum, tamquam plura intus apud se meditatus; erumpit in hoc, FUNDAMENTA EJUS. S. August. in Ps. lxxxvi.

[*t*] Ps. lxxxvii. 1, 2.

[*u*] John xx. 15.

[*x*] Vis amoris hoc agere solet in animo, ut quem ipse semper cogitat, nullum alium ignorare credat. S. Gregor. Pap.

as

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as it were, out of herself, by the ardour of her love, she thinks every one ought to think of that person whose idea possesses her whole soul; and that all must know him she is seeking.

The Psalms only would furnish an infinity of admirable examples in every kind of Eloquence; the simple, the sublime, the tender, the vehement, the pathetic style. The reader may peruse what bishop Bossuet has said on this head, in his second chapter of his preface to the Psalms, intitled, *De grandiloquentiâ & suavitate Psalmorum*, i. e. *Of the majesty and sweetness of the Psalms.* The lively and sublime genius of that great man is visible in every part of it. I shall quote but one passage from it in this place, which might suffice to shew, in what manner a taste of the beauties of the Holy Scripture may be attained: it is that where [y] David describes a storm.

"Sit exempli loco illa tempestas: *Dixit & adstitit* "*spiritus procellæ: intumuerunt fluctus: ascendunt* "*usque ad cœlos, & descendunt usque ad abyssos.* "Sic undæ susque de que volvuntur. Quid homines? "*Turbati sunt, & moti sunt sicut ebrius: & omnis* "*eorum sapientia absorpta est;* quam profectò fluc- "tuum animorumque agitationem non Virgilius, non "Homerus, tantâ verborum copiâ æquare potuerunt. "Jam tranquillitas quanta; *statuit procellam ejus in* "*auram, & siluerunt fluctus ejus.* Quid enim sua- "vius, quàm mitem in auram desinens gravis procel- "larum tumultus, ac mox silentes fluctus post fragorem tantum? Jam, quod nostris est proprium, majestas Dei quanta in hac voce; *Dixit, & procella* "*adstitit!* Non hîc Juno Æolo supplex: non hîc "Neptunus in ventos tumidis exaggeratisque vocibus "sæviens, atque æstus iræ suæ vix ipse interim premens. Uno ac simplici jussu statim omnia peraguntur."

"Let us use as an example, the tempest as described by the Psalmist: *He spake, and the spirit* "*of the storm came forth. The waves ascend: They* "*rise unto the clouds, and sink even unto the abyss.*

[y] Ps. cvi. 25, &c.

In

" In this manner the waves are tossed to and fro.
" But what became of the men? *They are disturbed*
" *and amazed like drunken men, and all their wits*
" *are fled.* Such a force of tempest neither Homer
" nor Virgil could equal in describing, nor with such
" copiousness of expression. But what a calm suc-
" ceeds? *He ordereth the winds, and the waves are*
" *silent.* What can be more gentle than their obe-
" dience, and their silence after such a storm? But
" more, how great is the majesty of God in this de-
" scription! He spoke, and the storm was allayed.
" We have not here Juno supplicating Æolus, nor
" Neptune with a boisterous voice chiding the waves,
" and scarce refraining his anger; all is done by one
" simple command."

God commands, and the sea swells, and is impetuous: the waves ascend to the heavens, and descend to the depth of the abyss. God speaks, and with a single word he changes the storm into a gentle breeze, and the tumultuous agitation of the waves into a deep silence. How strong! How various are these images!

THE SONG OF MOSES, AFTER HIS PASSING THROUGH THE RED SEA,

EXPLAINED ACCORDING TO THE RULES OF RHETORIC.

WE owe the explication of this song to Mr. *Hersan*, formerly Rhetoric professor in the college Du Plessis. The reader may justly expect something excellent from his name and reputation. We have thought proper to change some few things in it, which the author would not disapprove, were he living.

MOSES'S SONG.

Ver. 1. I will sing unto the Lord: for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

Ver. 2. The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation: he is my God, and I will prepare

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prepare him an habitation; my father's God, and I will exalt him.

Ver. 3. The Lord is a man of war: the Lord is his name.

Ver. 4. Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea; his chosen captains also are drowned in the Red Sea.

Ver. 5. The depth have covered them; they sank into the bottom as a stone.

Ver. 6. Thy right-hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power: thy right-hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.

Ver. 7. And in the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee: thou sentest forth thy wrath, which consumed them as stubble.

Ver. 8. And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together: the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.

Ver. 9. The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil: my lust shall be satisfied upon them, I will draw my sword, mine hand shall destroy them.

Ver. 10. Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: they sank as lead in the mighty waters.

Ver. 11. Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?

Ver 12. Thou stretchedst out thy right-hand, the earth swallowed them.

Ver. 13. Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed: thou hast guarded them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation.

Ver. 14. The people shall hear and be afraid: sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Palestine.

Ver. 15. Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed, the mighty men of Moab, trembling shall take hold upon them: all the inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away.

Ver.

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Ver. 16. Fear and dread shall fall upon them; by the greatness of thine arm they shall be as still as a stone: till thy people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over, which thou hast purchased.

Ver. 17. Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in: in the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established.

Ver. 18. The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.

Ver. 19. For the horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots, and with his horsemen, into the sea; and the Lord brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel went on dry land in the midst of the sea.

THE SONG OF MOSES EXPLAINED ACCORDING TO THE RULES OF RHETORIC.

This excellent song may justly be considered as one of the most eloquent pieces of antiquity. The turn of it is great, the thoughts noble, the style sublime and magnificent, the expressions strong, and the figures bold; every part of it abounds with images that strike the mind, and possess the imagination. This piece, which some believe was composed by Moses in Hebrew verse, surpasses the most beautiful descriptions, which the heathens have given us in this way. Virgil and Horace, though the most perfect models of poetical eloquence, have not writ any thing comparable to it. No man can set a higher value than I do on those two great poets, and I studied them close, with the utmost pleasure, for several years. Nevertheless, when I read what Virgil wrote in praise of Augustus, in the beginning of the third book of the [*m*] Georgics, and at the end of the eighth [*n*] Æneid; and what he makes the priest Evander sing, in the same book, in honour of Hercules; though those passages are vastly fine, they seem grovelling to

[*m*] Ver. 16, 39. [*n*] Ver. 675, 728.

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me in comparison with the song in question [o]. Virgil methinks is all ice, Moses all fire. The same may be affirmed of the fourteenth and fifteenth odes of the fourth book, and the last of the epodes of Horace.

A circumstance which seems to favour these two poets, and other profane writers, is, that we find in them a cadence, a harmony, and elegance of style, which is not to be met with in the Scriptures. But then we commonly read them in a translation; and it is well known, that the best French translators of Cicero, Virgil, and Horace, disfigure their authors very much. Now, the original language of the Scripture must be vastly eloquent, since there remains more in the copies of it, than in all the Latin works of ancient Rome, and the Greek ones of Athens. The Scriptures are close, concise, and void of foreign ornaments, which would only weaken their impetuosity and fire; hate long perambulations, and reach the mark the shortest way. They love to include a great many thoughts in a few words; to introduce them as so many shafts; and to make those objects sensible, which are the most remote from the senses, by lively and natural images of them. In a word, the Scriptures have a greatness, strength, energy, and majestic simplicity, which raise them above every thing in heathen Eloquence. If the reader will but give himself the trouble to compare the places above-cited from Virgil and Horace, with the reflection I shall now make, he will soon be convinced of the truth of what I say.

OCCASION AND SUBJECT OF THE SONG.

The great miracle which God wrought, when the children of Israel passed through the Red Sea. The prophet's view in it is, to indulge himself in his transports of joy, admiration, and gratitude, for this great miracle to sing the praises of God the deliverer, to offer up to him public and solemn thanks, and to inspire the people with the same sentiments.

[o] Ver. 287, 302.

Ex-

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EXPLICATION OF THE SONG.

Ver. 1. *I will sing unto the Lord: for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.*

Moses full of admiration, gratitude, and joy, could he possibly have better declared the emotions of his heart, than by this impetuous exordium, in which the lively gratitude of the people delivered, and the dreadful greatness of God the deliverer, are described?

This exordium is the simple proposition of the whole piece. It is, as it were, the extract and point of sight, to which the several parts of the picture refer. This we must carry in our minds, as we read the song, to comprehend the artifice with which the prophet draws so many beauties, so much magnificence, from a proposition, which at first sight seems so simple and barren.

I will sing is much more energetic, more affecting, more tender, than it would be in the plural, *we will sing*. This victory of the Hebrews over the Egyptians is not like those common victories which one nation gains over another, and whose fruits are general, vague, common, and almost imperceptible to every individual. Here every thing is peculiar to every Israelite; every thing is personal. At this first instant, every one reflects on his own chains which are broken; every one imagines he sees his cruel master drowned; every one is sensible of the value of his liberty, which is secured to him for ever. For it is natural to the heart of man, in extreme danger, to refer every thing to himself, and to consider himself as every thing.

The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. This singular, *the horse, his rider*, which includes the totality of horses and riders, is much more energetic than the plural would have been. Besides, the singular denotes much better the ease and suddenness of the drowning. The Egyptian cavalry was numerous, formidable, and covered whole plains. It would have required several days to have defeated and cut them

to

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to pieces: but God defeated them in an instant, with a single effort, at a blow. He overthrew, drowned, overwhelmed them all, as though they had been but one horse, and one rider: *The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.*

The Lord is my strength and my song, &c. This is the amplification of the first words of the song. *I will sing.* Let us observe in what manner this is extended.

Of the several attributes of God, he praises only his strength, because it was by that he had been delivered.

My strength. This figure is energetic, for, *the cause of my strength*, which is flat and languid; besides that, *my strength* shews, that God alone was to the Israelites as courage, and dispensed with their making any use of it.

My song. This is the same figure, and equally emphatic. He is the only subject of my praise: no instrument divides it with him; neither power, wisdom, nor human industry, can be associated with him: he alone merits all my gratitude, since he alone performed, ordained, and executed every thing. *The Lord is my song.*

He is become my salvation. The writers of the Augustan ages would have writ, *hath saved me*, but the Scripture says much more. The Lord hath undertaken to perform himself, every thing that was requisite for my salvation; he made my salvation his own, his personal affair; and, what is much more emphatical, *is become my salvation.*

He is my God. He is emphatical, and signifies much more than it is supposed to do at first sight. *He*, not the gods of the Egyptians and nations; gods void of strength, speechless and lifeless: but he who performed so many prodigies in Egypt and in our passage, he is my God, and him will I glorify.

My God. This *my* may have a double relation, the one to God, the other to the Israelite. In the former, God appears to be great, powerful, and a God for me only. Unattentive to the rest of the universe, he is employed wholly on my dangers and on my safety;

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and is ready to sacrifice all the nations of the earth to my interest. In the second relation, *he is my God;* I will never have any other. To him only I consecrate all my wishes, all my desires, all my confidence. He only is worthy my worship and love, and to him only will I for ever pay homage.

My father's God, and I will exalt him. This repetition is inexpressibly tender. He whose grandeur I exalt, is not a strange God, unknown till this day, a protector for a moment, and ready to assist any other. No: he is the ancient protector of my family. His goodness is hereditary. I have a thousand domestic proofs of his constant love, perpetuated from father to son, down to me. His ancient kindnesses were so many titles and pledges, which assured me of the like. He is the God of my father: he is the God who displayed himself so often to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In fine, he is the God who but now fulfilled the mighty promises which he had made to my forefathers.

What has he done to effect this? *The Lord is a man of war.* He might have said, as he is the God of armies, he has delivered us from the army of Pharaoh; but this was saying too little. He considers his God as a soldier, as a captain; he puts, as it were, the sword into his hand, and makes him fight for the children of Jacob.

The Lord is a man of war; the Lord is his name; In the Hebrew it is, *Jehovah is a man of war, Jehovah is his name.* Moses insists on the word *Jehovah,* the better to shew, by this repetition, who this extraordinary warrior is, who has deigned to fight for Israel. As though he had said, *Jehovah, the Lord, has appeared like a warrior.* Is what I now say well understood? Is this miracle comprehended in its full latitude? Yes, I again repeat: It is the supreme God in person, it is the only God; it is, to say all in one word, he who is called [*p*] *Jehovah,* whose name is incommunicable, who alone possesses all the fulness

[*p*] Qui est. . . Ego sum, qui sum.

of

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of being; he is become the champion of Israel. Himself has been to them instead of soldiers. He took upon himself the whole weight of the war. [q] *The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace,* said Moses to the Israelites before the battle; as though he had said, You shall be still, and not fight.

Ver. 4 and 5. *Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea; his chosen captains hath he also drowned in the Red Sea. The depths have covered them; they sank into the bottom as a stone.*

Observe the pompous display of all that is contained in these two words, *the horse and his rider.*

1. *Pharaoh's chariots.* 2. *His hosts.* 3. *His chosen captains.* A beautiful gradation.

How wonderful is this amplification! *He cast into the sea. They are drowned in the Red Sea. The depths have covered them: They sank to the bottom as a stone;* all this to explain, *He has thrown into the sea.* We observe in these words, a series of images, which succeed one another, and swell by degrees. 1. *He cast into the sea.* 2 *They are drowned in the Red Sea. They are drowned,* improves on *He cast. . . . In the Red, Sea,* is a circumstance which more determinates than simply, *the sea.* (The Hebrew has it, in the *sea Suph.*) One would conclude, that Moses was desirous of heightening the greatness of the power which God exhibited in a sea which formed part of the Egyptian empire, and which was under the protection of the [r] gods of Egypt. 3. *His chosen captains,* the greatest of Pharaoh's princes; that is to say, the proudest, and perhaps those who opposed with greatest violence the laws of the God of Israel; in a word, those who were most able to save themselves from the shipwreck, are swallowed up like the meanest soldiers. 4. *The depths have covered them.* What an image is here! They are covered, overwhelmed, vanished for ever. 5. To complete this picture, he concludes with a simile, which is, as it were, the stroke that animates and points out the whole; *they sank into the bottom as a stone.* Notwithstanding their

[q] Exod. xiv. 14. [r] Beelsephon.

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pride and haughtiness, they make no greater resistance to rise up against the arm of God who plunges them, than a stone that sinks to the bottom of the waters.

After this, what should Moses think, what should he say? One of the most important rules of Rhetoric, and which Cicero never fails to observe, is, that, after an account of a surprising action, or even of an extraordinary circumstance, the writer must quit the calm and easy air proper to narration, and deliver himself with more or less impetuosity, according to the nature of the subject; this is commonly done by apostrophes, interrogations, exclamations, which figures enliven both the discourse and the hearer. All this Moses has done inimitably in the song before us.

Thy right-hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power; thy right-hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.

There are several things to be observed here.

1. Moses might have said, *God has displayed his strength by striking Pharaoh.* But how faintly, in how languid a manner, would that express so great an action! He springs toward God, and says to him in a kind of enthusiasm, *Thy right-hand, O Lord, is become glorious,* &c.

2. He might have said, *O Lord, thou hast displayed thy strength,* &c. But this is not strong enough, and does not convey a sensible idea to the mind; whereas, in the expression of Moses, we see, we distinguish as it were, the Almighty's hand, which extends itself, and crushes the Egyptians. Whence I conclude at once, that the true Eloquence is that which persuades; that it commonly persuades no other way than by moving; that it moves by things and palpable ideas only; and that for these several reasons no Eloquence is so perfect as that of the Holy Scriptures, since the most spiritual and metaphysical things are there represented by sensible and lively images.

3. *Thy right-hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.* A most beautiful repetition! and very necessary to give a stronger idea of the power of God's arm.

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arm. The first member of the period, *thy right-arm has beoome glorious in power*, having hinted only at the event in loose and general terms, the prophet thinks he has not said enough, and to denote the manner of this action, he immediately repeats, *thy right-hand hath dashed in pieces the enemy*. It is the nature of great passions, to repeat those circumstances which foment them, as appears from all the passionate places in the best authors; and as is seen in the Sacred Writings, particularly in the Psalms.

4, *In the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee.* So many great beauties are concealed in the original text, that they merit some illustration.

1. By these words, *in the greatness of thine excellency*, the sacred writer would describe the action of a nobleman of figure, who assumes a haughty air; who rises in proportion as an impotent inferior presumes to rise against him, and is pleased to sink him the lower for that reason. The Egyptians looked upon themselves as very great; they even attacked God himself, and asked with a haughty tone, [*s*] *Who is then the Lord?* But as these feeble, though insolent creatures rose, God rose also, and assumed all the elevation of his infinite grandeur, all the height of his supreme majesty against them: [*t*] *The proud he knoweth afar off.* And it is from thence he overthrew his enemies who were so full of themselves, and hurled them, not only against the earth, but down into the most profound abysses of the sea.

2. *That rose up against* THEE. It was not against Israel that the Egyptians declared war, but it is You they presumed to attack; it is You they defied. Our quarrel was Yours; it was against You they warred; *against Thee.* This is a delicate, affecting turn, in order to engage God himself in Israel's cause.

Ver. 7. *Thou sentest forth thy wrath, which consumeth them as stubble.*

[*s*] Exod. v. 2. [*t*] Psal. cxxxviii. 6.

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Ver. 8. *And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters are gathered together; the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths are congealed in the heart of the sea.*

Ver. 9. *The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil; my lust shall be satisfied upon them, I will draw my sword, mine hand shall destroy them.*

Ver. 10. *Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: they sank as lead in the mighty waters.*

Moses returns to the narration, not as in the fourth and fifth verses by a mere description, but in continuing his apostrophe to God, which gives more passion to the relation, and from which the conduct of this song seems superior to human Eloquence. The farther it removes from the simple proposition which serves as an exordium to it, the stronger are its amplifications.

Thou sentest forth thy wrath. How great is this figure! How noble the expression! The prophet gives action and life to God's anger; he transforms it into an ardent and zealous minister, whom the judge sends calmly from the throne to execute the decrees of his vengeance. When kings would fight their enemies, they stand in need of infantry, cavalry, arms, and a long train of warlike instruments; but to God, his wrath alone can punish the guilty. *Thou sentest forth thy wrath.* How many things are comprised in two or three words, which leave to the reader the pleasure of enumerating in his imagination the fires, the flashes of lightning, the thunderbolts, the storms, and all the other instruments of this wrath! The beauty of this expression is better felt than expressed: we find a certain depth in it, a something, which employs and fills the mind. Horace had this figure in view in the expression *Iracunda fulmina*, and Virgil hit upon it in the ingenious composition of the thunder described in the eighth book of the Æneid.

——*Sonitumque metumque*
Miscebant operi, flammisque sequacibus iras.

What

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What was then the effect of this dreadful wrath? *It consumed them as stubble!* The Scripture only can furnish us with such images. Let us consider this thought attentively. We shall see the wrath of God consuming a prodigious army. Men, horses, chariots, all are dashed, consumed, overwhelmed; how weak are these synonymous terms! All these are consumed, that would be saying all; but the simile which follows, finishes the picture; for the word *consume* gives us the idea of an action that lasts some time; but, *as stubble*, shews an instantaneous action. How! so mighty an army as this consumed like stubble! The reader should consider the force of these ideas.

But how was this effected? God, by a furious wind, assembled the waters, which swelled like two mountains in the midst of the sea. The children of Israel passed over it as on dry land; the Egyptians pursuing them into it were swallowed up by the waves. This is a plain and unembellished relation; but how beautiful, how majestic, is the turn which is given to it in Scripture! I should never have done, should I examine them particularly. I am charmed with the whole song, but this passage transports me.

With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together. The prophet ennobles the wind by making God himself the principle of it; and animates the waters, by representing them susceptible of fear. The better to paint the divine indignation and its effects, he borrows the image of human wrath, whose lively transports are accompanied with a precipitated breathing, which causes a violent and impetuous blast. And when this wrath, in a powerful person, directs itself towards a fearful populace, it forces them, for their own security, to give way, and to fall in a tumultuous manner one upon the other. It is thus *with the blast of the Lord's nostrils*, the frighted waters withdrew with impetuotity from their usual bed, and crowded suddenly one upon the other, in order to give way to this wrath; whereas the Egyptians, who came in the way of this wrath, were consumed like stubble.

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We often meet with such a description of divine wrath in the Scriptures: [u] *The sea saw it and fled.* . . . [x] *Then the channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered, at thy rebuke, O Lord, at the blast of the breath of thy nostrils.* . . . [y] *There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured; coals were kindled at it:* Are we to wonder, that a wrath like this should overthrow and swallow up every thing?

The depths were congealed in the heart of the sea. That is, the waters were bound up, and frozen like ice. *The depths* give us a much more dreadful idea than *waters. In the heart of the sea;* this circumstance is very emphatic; it fixes the imagination, and makes us conceive to ourselves mountains of solid waters in the centre of the liquid element.

The two verses that follow are inexpressibly beautiful. Instead of barely saying, as was before observed, that the Egyptians by their pursuing the Israelites, went into the sea; the prophet himself enters into the heart of those barbarians, puts himself in their place, assumes their passions, and makes them speak; not that they had really spoke, but because a thirst of vengeance, and a strong desire of pursuing the Israelites, was the language of their hearts, which Moses made them utter, in order to vary his narration, and make it the more ardent.

The enemy said, instead of the *Egyptians said.* This singular, *the enemy,* how beautiful is every word!

I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil, &c. We read, and perceive a palpable vengeance in these words, as we read them. The sacred penman has not put a conjunction to any of the six words which compose the Egyptian soldier's discourse, in order to give it the greater spirit, and to express more naturally the disposition of a man whose soul is fired, who discourses with himself, and does not mind connecting his words with conjunctions, his thoughts requiring freedom and liberty.

[u] Psal. cxiv. 3. [x] Ibid. xviii. 15. [y] Ibid. ver. 8.

Another

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Another writer would have stopped here, but Moses goes farther. *My lust shall be satisfied upon them.* He might have said, *I will divide the spoil, and I will fill myself with them.* But, *my lust shall be satisfied upon them,* represents them as rioting on spoils, and swimming in joy.

I will draw my sword, mine hand shall destroy them. The Vulgate runs thus, *I will unsheath my sword, and my hand shall kill them.* The reflection that follows, which is very beautiful, supposes this sense. They are no less affected with the pleasure of killing their enemies, than that of plundering them. Let us see how he describes this. He might have said in one word, *I will kill them;* but this would have been too quick; he gives them the pleasure of a long vengeance. I will unsheath my sword. How great is this image! it even strikes the reader's eye, *Mine hand shall destroy them.*

This *mine hand* is inexpressibly beautiful. This expression represents a soldier who is sure of victory: we see him looking about, moving up and down, and stretching forth his arm. My fear for the children of Israel makes me tremble. Great God! what wilt thou do to save them? A numberless multitude of barbarians are furiously hastening to victory and vengeance. Can all the shafts of thy wrath check the impetuosity of thine enemies? The Almighty blows, and the sea has already surrounded them. *Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them.*

It must be confessed, that this reflection is very strong, eloquent, and well adapted to form the taste, for which reason I thought the reader ought not to be deprived of it. But I must be obliged to confess, that the Hebrew text, instead of *Mine hand shall destroy them,* has it thus: *Mine hand shall again subject them to me; my hand shall triumph over them, my hand shall again put me in possession* of those fugitives. And indeed, this was the real motive which prompted the Egyptians to pursue the Israelites, as the

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the Scriptures manifestly declare. [z] *And it was told the king of Egypt, that the people fled; and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was turned against the people; and they said, Why have we done this, that we have let Israel go from serving us?* Pharaoh therefore and his officers did not intend to kill and extirpate the Israelites, which would have been against their own interest; but they designed to force them sword in hand to return into captivity, and work again in the public edifices.

Methinks there is also a great beauty in this expression, *Mine hand shall again subject them to me.* The God of the Israelites had declared that he would free them from their Egyptian captivity, and deliver them from their hard servitude by the strength of his arm. [a] *I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage; and I will redeem you with a stretched-out arm.* He had often caused Pharaoh to be told, that he would stretch out his hand upon him, in his servants, in his fields, and his cattle; that he would shew him, that he was the master and the Lord, by stretching out his hand over all Egypt, and by rescuing his people out of their captivity. [b] *The Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord, when I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them.* Here the Egyptian, who already fancies himself victorious, insults the God of the Hebrews. He seems to reproach him for the weakness of his arm, and the emptiness of his threats; and says to himself in the drunkenness of insolent joy, and in the transports of foolish confidence, Notwithstanding what the God of *Israel* hath said, *mine hand shall again subject them to me.*

Ver. 10. *Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them, they sank as lead in the mighty waters.*

Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them. Could Moses have possibly given us a nobler

[z] Exod. xiv. 5. [a] Ibid. vi. 6. ix. 3, 15. [b] Ibid. vii. 5.

idea

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idea of the power of God? He only blows, and he at once overwhelms a numberless multitude of forces. This is the true sublime. *Let there be light, and there was light.* Can any thing be greater?

The sea covered them. How many ideas are included in four words! How easy are the words? But what a crowd of ideas! It is to this passage we may apply what Pliny says of Timanthus the painter: *In omnibus ejus operibus plus intelligitur quàm pingitur . . . ut ostendat etiam quæ occultat.* "In all "his works more is understood than is painted, so "that he shews what he seems to hide."

Any other writer but Moses would have let his fancy take wing. He would have given us a long detail, and a train of useless insipid descriptions; he would have exhausted his subject, or impoverished it, and tired the reader by an empty pomp of words, and a barren abundance. But here God blows, the sea obeys, it pours upon the Egyptians, they are all swallowed up. Was ever description so full, so lively, so strong, as this! There is no interval between God's blowing, and the dreadful miracle he performs in order to save his people. *Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them.*

They sank as lead in the mighty waters. Reflect attentively on this last stroke, which assists the imagination, and finishes the picture.

Ver. 11. *Who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongst the gods? Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?* 12. *Thou stretchedst out thy right-hand, the earth swallowed them.*

To the wonderful relation above-mentioned, succeeds a wonderful expression of praise. The greatness of this miracle required this vivacity of sentiment and gratitude. And how, indeed, could it be possible for the writer not to be transported, and, as it were, out of himself, at the sight of such a wonder? He employs the interrogation, the comparison, the repetition, all which figures are naturally expressive of admiration and rapture.

Glorious

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Glorious in holiness, &c. It is impossible to imitate the lively, concise style of the text, which is composed of three little members, detached from each other, without a copulative, and of which each consists of two or three words short enough, *Glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders.* It is difficult to render the sense of it, how diffusive soever the version may be made, which besides makes it flat and languid, whereas the Hebrew is full of fire and vivacity.

Ver. 13. *Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people . . . thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation*, &c.

This, and the four following verses, are a prophetic declaration of the glorious protection which God was to grant his people after having brought them out of Egypt. They abound every where with the strongest and most affecting images. The reader does not know which to admire most; [c] God's tenderness for his people, whose guide and conductor he himself will be, by preserving them during the whole journey like the apple of his eye, as he declares in another place; and carrying them on his shoulders, as an eagle bears her young ones: or his formidable power, which causing terror and dread to walk before it, freezes, with fear, all such nations as should presume to oppose the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, and strikes those nations so, that they become motionless as a stone: or, lastly, God's wonderful care, to settle them in a fixed and permanent manner in the promised land, or rather to plant them in it: *Thou shalt plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance*; an emphatic expression, and which alone recals all that the Scriptures observe in so many places, of the care which God had taken to plant this beloved vine; to water it, inclose it with fences, and to multiply and extend its fruitful branches to a great distance.

[c] Deut. xxxii. 10, 11.

Ver.

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Ver. 18, 19. *The Lord shall reign for ever and ever. For the horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots, and with his horsemen, into the sea; and the Lord brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel went on dry land in the midst of the sea.*

This concludes the whole song, by which Moses promises God, in the name of all the people, to bear eternally in their minds the signal delivery which God had wrought in their favour.

Possibly this conclusion may appear too simple, when compared to the verses which go before it. But methinks there is as much art in this simplicity as in the rest of the song. And indeed, after Moses had moved and raised the minds of the people by so many great expressions, and violent figures, it was proper, and agreeable to the rules of Rhetoric, to end his song with a plain simple exposition, not only to unbend the minds of his hearers, but also to give them an idea, without employing figures, turns, or a pomp of words, of the greatness of this miracle, which God had just before wrought in their favour.

The delivery of the Jewish people out of Egypt is the most wonderful prodigy we read of in the Old Testament. God mentions it a thousand times in the Scriptures; he speaks of it, if I may be allowed the expression, with a kind of complacency; he relates it as the most shining proof of the strength of his all-powerful arm. And indeed it is not a single prodigy, but a long series of prodigies, each more wonderful than the other. It was fit that the beauty of a song, which was written to perpetuate the remembrance of this miracle, should equal the greatness of the subject: and it was impossible but this should do so, as the same God, who wrought those wonders, dictated also the song.

But what beauty, grandeur, and magnificence, should we discover in it, were we permitted to pierce the mysterious sense which is concealed beneath the veil of this great event? For it must be allowed, that this

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this delivery out of Egypt covers and represents other deliverances. [*d*] The authority of St. Paul, that of all tradition, and the prayers of the church, oblige us to consider it as a type of the freedom which the Christian obtains by the waters of baptism, and his delivery from the yoke of the prince of this world. The Revelations mention another use of this delivery, by shewing those, who have overcome the beast, holding the harps of God in their hands, and singing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, [*e*] *Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty*, &c.

Now as the Scriptures declare, that the wonders of the second deliverance will surpass infinitely those of the first, and will entirely blot out the remembrance of it; we may believe, that the beauties of the spiritual sense of this song would quite eclipse those of the historical sense.

But I am far from being able to display these wonders, and indeed that does not suit the design of this work, wherein my view was to form the taste of youth in matters of Eloquence. This explication of Moses's song may conduce more to that end than any thing else, and I believed therefore, that it would be agreeable to the public. The author's modesty had buried it, as it were, in obscurity; and therefore the reader will not be displeased, to find it published by his scholar, as a testimony of the gratitude he owes to so excellent a master. He not only bore this character with regard to me, but likewise that of a father, having always loved me as a son. Mr. Hersan took the utmost care of me whilst I was under his tuition, designing me, even at that time, for his successor; and indeed I was so in the second class, in Rhetoric, and in the Royal College. I may assert without flattery, that no man was ever more capable than this gentleman, to point out and illustrate the beautiful passages in authors, or to raise an emula-

[*d*] 1 Cor. xi. 10. [*e*] Rev. xv. 3.

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tion in youth. The funeral oration of the chancellor Le Tellier, which Mr. Hersan delivered in the Sorbonne, and which is the only piece of his in prose which he suffered to be printed, is sufficient to shew the exquisite delicacy of his taste: and his verses which are published may be considered as so many standards in their kind. But then he was much more valuable for his virtues, than for his genius. Goodness, simplicity, [*f*] modesty, disinterestedness, a contempt for riches, a generosity carried almost to excess, such were his qualities. He made no other advantage of the entire confidence which a powerful [*g*] minister reposed in him, than to do good to others. As soon as I was chosen principal of the college of Beauvais, he devoted for my sake, and from his love to the public, two thousand crowns, to be laid out in such repairs and embellishments as were wanting there. But the last years of his life, though spent in obscurity and retirement, have obscured all the rest. He withdrew to Compiegne his native place. There, secluded from company, wholly employed in the study of the Scriptures, which had always been his delight; meditating perpetually on [*h*] death and eternity, he devoted himself entirely to the service of the poor children of the city. He built a school for their use, and it is perhaps the finest in the kingdom, and left a stipend for a master. He himself taught them very often, and generally had some of them at his table. He clothed several of them; distributed rewards from time to time among them, in order to encourage them to study; and his greatest consolation was, to think, that after his death, those children would offer up the same prayer for him, that the famous Gerson, when he condescended to teach school in Lyons, had desired, by his last will, of those he had taught: *My*

[*f*] He would never suffer himself to be elected rector (principal) of the university.

[*g*] Mr. de Louvois.

[*h*] He published a collection of the extracts he had made on this subject, intitled, *Edifying Meditations upon Death, taken from the words of Scripture, and of the fathers.*

God,

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God, my Creator, have pity on your poor servant John Gerson. He had the happiness to die poor, in some measure, in the midst of the poor, having scarce enough left for a last foundation of the *sisters of charity* for the instruction of girls, and to take care of the sick. I hope the reader will pardon this digression, since the sole motive of it is, to express my gratitude for a master to whom I have so many obligations.

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BOOK IV.

OF HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

It is not without reason that [*a*] History has always been considered as the light of ages, the depositary of events, the faithful evidence of truth, the source of prudence and good counsel, and the rule of conduct and manners. [*b*] Confined without it to the bounds of the age and country wherein we live, and shut up within the narrow circle of such branches of knowledge as are peculiar to us, and the limits of our own private reflections, we continue in a kind of infancy, which leaves us strangers to the rest of the world, and profoundly ignorant of all that has preceded, or even now surrounds us. [*c*] What is the small number of years that make up the longest life, or what the extent of country which we are able to possess or travel over, but an imperceptible point in comparison of the vast regions of the universe, and the long series of ages, which have succeeded one another since the creation of the world? And yet all we are capable of knowing must be limited to this imperceptible point, unless we call in the study of History to our assistance, which opens to us every age

[*a*] Historia testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, nuncia vetustatis. Cic. lib. 2. de Orat. n, 36.

[*b*] Nescire quid antea quàm natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum. Cic. in Orat. n. 120.

[*c*] Terram hanc, cum populis urbibusque . . . puncti loco ponimus, ad universa referentes: minorem portionem ætas nostra quàm puncti habet, si tempori comparetur omni. Senec. de Consol. ad Marciam. cap. 20.

Nullum seculum magnis ingeniis clusum est, nullum non cogitationi pervium, Id.

Si magnitudine animi egredi humanæ imbecillitatis angustias libet, multum per quod spatiemur temporis est. . . Licet in consortium omnis ævi pariter incedere. Id. de Brev. Vitæ, c. 14.

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and every country, keeps up a correspondence betwixt us and the great men of antiquity, sets all their actions, all their atchievements, virtues, and faults before our eyes; and by the prudent reflections it either presents, or gives us an opportunity of making, soon teaches us to be wise before our time, and in a manner far superior to all the lessons of the greatest masters.

History may properly be called the common school of mankind, equally open and useful both to great and small, to princes and subjects, and still more necessary to princes and great men, than to all others. For, how can awful truth approach them amidst the crowd of flatterers, which surround them on all sides, and are continually commending and admiring them, or in other words corrupting and poisoning their hearts and understandings; how, I say, can truth make her feeble voice be heard amidst such tumult and confusion? How venture to lay before them the duties and slaveries of royalty? How shew them wherein their true glory consists, and represent to them, that if they will look back to the original of their institution, they may clearly find [*d*] they were made for the people; and not the people for them? How put them in mind of their faults, make them apprehend the just judgment of posterity, and disperse the thick clouds, which the vain phantom of their greatness, and the inebriation of their fortune, have formed around them?

These services, which are so necessary and important, can be rendered them only by the assistance of History, which alone has the power of speaking freely to them, and the right of passing an absolute judgment upon the actions of princes, no less than fame, which [*e*] Seneca calls *liberrimam principum judicem*, "the most free judge of princes." Their abilities may be extolled, their wit and valour admired, and their ex-

[*d*] Assiduis bonitatis argumentis probavit, non rempublicam suam esse, sed se reipublicæ. Senec. de Clem. lib. 1. cap. 19.

[*e*] Sen. de Consol. ad Marciam, cap. 4.

ploits

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ploits and conquests boasted of; but if all these have no foundation in truth and justice, History will tacitly pass sentence upon them under borrowed names. The greatest part of the most famous conquerors they will find treated as public calamities, the enemies of mankind, and [f] the robbers of nations, who hurried on by a restless and blind ambition, carry desolation from country to country, [g] and like an inundation, or a fire, ravage all that they meet in their way.

They will see a Caligula, a Nero, and a Domitian, who were praised to excess during their lives, become the horror and execration of mankind after their deaths; whereas Titus, Trajan, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius, are still looked upon as the delights of the world, for having made use of their power only to do good. Thus we may say, that History is to them a tribunal raised in their life-time, like that which was formerly erected amongst the Egyptians, where princes, like private men, were tried and condemned after their death, and that hence they may learn beforehand, the sentence which will for ever be passed upon their reputation. It is History, in fine, [h] which fixes the seal of immortality upon actions truly great, and sets a mark of infamy on vices, which no after-age can ever obliterate. It is by History that mistaken merit, and oppressed virtue, appeal to the uncorruptible tribunal of posterity, which renders them the justice their own age has sometimes refused them, and without respect of persons and the fear of a power, which subsists no more, condemns the unjust abuse of authority with inexorable rigour.

There is no age or condition, which may not derive the same advantages from History; and what I have said of princes and conquerors, comprehends

[f] Jer. iv. 7.

[g] Philippi aut Alexandri latrocinia cæterorumque, qui exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere pestes mortalium, quàm inundatio, quâ planum omne perfusum est, quam conflagratio, quâ magna pars animantium exaruit. Senec. lib. 3. Nat. Quæst. in Præfat.

[h] Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate & infamiâ metus sit. Tacit. Annal. lib. 3 cap. 65.

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also in some measure all persons in power, ministers of state, generals of armies, officers, magistrates, governors of provinces, prelates, ecclesiastical superiors both secular and regular, fathers and mothers, masters and mistresses; in a word, whoever have authority over others. For such persons have sometimes more haughtiness, pride and humour in a very limited station than kings in theirs, and carry their despotic disposition and arbitrary power to a greater length. History therefore is of great advantage, to lay down useful lessons to them all, and present them with a faithful mirror of their duties and obligations by an unsuspected hand, and thereby make them sensible, that they are all constituted for the sake of their inferiors, and not their inferiors for them.

Thus History, when it is well taught, becomes a school of morality for all mankind. It condemns vice, throws off the mask from false virtues, lays open popular errors and prejudices, dispels the delusive charms of riches, and all the vain pomp which dazzles the imagination, and shews by a thousand examples, that are more availing than all reasonings whatsoever, that nothing is great and commendable but honour and probity. From the esteem and admiration, which the most corrupt cannot refuse to the great and good actions which History lays before them, it confirms the great truth, that virtue is man's real good, and alone renders him truly great and valuable. [i] This virtue we are taught by History to revere, and to discern its beauty and brightness through the veils of poverty, adversity, and obscurity, and sometimes also of disgrace and infamy; and on the other hand it inspires us with the contempt

[i] Si, quemadmodum visus oculorum quibusdam medicamentis acui solet & repurgari, sic & nos acrem animi liberare impedimentis voluerimus, poterimus perspicere virtutem, etiam obrutam corpore, etiam paupertate opposità, & humilitate, & infamiâ objacentibus: cernemus, inquam, pulchritudinem illam, quamvis sordido obtectam. Rursus æquè militiam & ærumnosi animi veternum perspiciemus, quamvis multus circa divitiarum radiantium splendor impediat, & intuentem hinc honorum, illinc magnarum potestatum, falsa lux verberet. Senec. Ep. 115.

and

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and horror of vice, though clothed in purple, surrounded with splendor, and placed on a throne.

But to confine myself to my own part of the subject, I look upon History as the first master to be given to children, equally serviceable to entertain and instruct them, to form their hearts and understandings, and to enrich their memories with facts as agreeable as useful. [k] It may likewise be of great service, by means of the pleasure inseparable from it, towards exciting the curiosity of that age, which is ever desirous of being informed, and inspiring a taste for study. Thus in point of education, it is a fundamental principle, and constantly observed in all times, that the study of History should precede all the rest, and prepare the way for them. Plutarch tells us, that Cato the elder, the famous censor, whose name and virtue brought so much honour to the Roman commonwealth, took upon himself a peculiar care in the education of his son, without trusting to the care of masters, and drew up a collection of historical facts expressly for his use, and wrote them over in large characters with his own hands, that the child, he said, might be able from his infancy, without going from home, to become acquainted with the great men of his own country, and form himself upon those ancient models of probity and virtue.

It is by no means necessary that I should dwell any longer upon proving the usefulness of History; it is a point generally enough agreed on, and which few people call in question. It is of most concern to know what is necessary to be observed in order to render the study of it useful, and reaping the benefits to be expected from it. And this I shall now attempt to lay down.

That I may throw what I have to say upon History into some order, I shall divide this discourse into three

[k] Fatendum in ipsis rebus, quæ discuntur & cognoscuntur invitamenta inesse, quibus ad discendum cognoscendumque moveamur. Cic. lib. 5. de fin. bon. & mal. n. 2.

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parts. The first shall treat of the taste for solid glory and real greatness, and serve to caution youth against the false ideas which the study of History itself may raise in them upon this subject. The second shall be upon sacred History. The third upon profane. And in the last I shall say something of fable, of the study of the Greek and Roman antiquities, the authors from whence we are to borrow our knowledge of History, and the order wherein they are to be read.

I make no mention here of the History of France, as it is but natural that ancient History should precede the modern; and I scarce think it possible for boys to find time whilst they are at school, to apply themselves to that of France. But I am far from looking upon it as an indifferent study, and I am concerned to see it so much neglected as it is by abundance of persons, to whom it might notwithstanding be very useful, not to say necessary. In talking thus, I first of all blame myself; for, I own I have not applied myself to it in the manner it deserves; and I am ashamed to be in some measure a stranger in my own country, after having travelled through so many others. And yet our History supplies us with great examples of virtue, and abundance of beautiful actions, which remain for the most part buried in obscurity, either through the badness of our historians [*l*] who have wanted the talents for treating them according to their dignity, like the Greeks and Romans: or in consequence of a bad taste, which inclines to admire highly what passes at a distance from our own age and country, whilst we remain cold and indifferent to such actions as pass before our eyes and in the age we live. But though we have not time to teach youth the History of France, we ought at least to cultivate a taste in them for it, by quoting such passages out of it from time to time, as may induce them to a farther application to it, when they shall have leisure.

[*l*] Quia provenere ibi magna scriptorum ingenia, per terrarum orbem (veterum) facta pro maximis celebrantur. Sallust. in Bel. Catil.

PART

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PART I.

OF THE TASTE FOR SOLID GLORY AND REAL GREATNESS.

ALL the world agrees, that one of the first cares in training up youth to the study of polite learning, is previously to lay down such rules and principles of good taste, as may serve to guide and direct them in the reading of authors. It is the more necessary to give them this assistance in the case of History, which may be regarded as the study of morality and virtue; as it is of far more importance to pass a right judgment upon virtue than eloquence, and less shameful and dangerous to be mistaken in the rules of discourse, than in those of morality.

Our age, and our nation in particular, stand in need of being undeceived concerning a great number of mistakes and false prejudices, which daily prevail more and more, upon the points of poverty and riches; modesty and presumption; simplicity of buildings and furniture; costliness and magnificence; frugality and delicacy in diet; in a word, upon almost every thing that is the object either of the contempt or admiration of mankind. In matters of this nature the [*m*] public taste becomes a rule to youth. They look upon that as valuable, which they see every body set a value upon; and are guided, not by reason, but custom [*n*]. One single bad example shall suffice to corrupt the minds of youth, which are susceptible of every impression: What then have we

[*m*] Recti apud nos locum tenet error, ubi publicus factus est. Sen. Ep. 123.

Nulla res nos majoribus malis implicat, quàm quòd ad rumorem componimur; optima rati ea, quæ magno assensu recepta sunt . . . nec ad rationem, sed ad similitudinem vivimus. Id. lib. de Vit. Beat. cap. 1.

[*n*] Unum exemplum, aut luxuriæ, aut avaritiæ, multum mali facit . . . quid tu accidere his moribus credis, in quos publicè factus est impetus? . . . adeo nemo nostrum ferre impetum vitiorum tam magno comitatu venientium potest. Id. Ep. 7.

Definit esse remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores sunt. Id. Ep. 39.

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not to apprehend for them, at a time when every kind of vice is the common practice, and [o] the grossest passions perpetually busy in extinguishing all sentiments of honour and probity?

How necessary then is this science to them [p], whose principal effect is to remove the false prejudices, which seduce, because they please us; whose office is to cure, and deliver us from the popular errors we have sucked in with our milk; to teach us how to discern betwixt true and false, good and evil, solid greatness and vain ostentation; [q] and to prevent the contagion of bad examples and vicious customs from infecting the minds of youth, and stifling in them the happy seeds of virtue and probity, which we observe nature to have implanted there [r]? It is in this science, which consists in judging of things, not by common opinion, but by truth, not by a specious outside, but by real merit, that Socrates has placed all the wisdom of man.

I have therefore thought it my duty to begin this treatise of history with laying down principles and rules how to pass a sound judgment upon great and good actions; to discern wherein solid Glory and real Greatness consist; and to distinguish expressly what is worthy of esteem and admiration from what merits only indifference or contempt. Without these rules and precautions, young persons, who have no other guides than their own inclinations, or the popular opinions, may form themselves upon models entirely agreeable to these false ideas, and give into the passions and vices of those, whose actions make a figure

[o] Certatur ingenti quodam nequitiæ certamine: major quotidie peccandi cupiditas, minor verecundiæ est. Sen. lib. 2. de Ira, c. 8.

[p] Sapientia animi magistra est... Quæ sint mala, quæ videantur ostendit. Vanitatem exuit mentibus, dat magnitudinem solidam; nec ignorari sinit, inter magna quid intersit & tumida. Ep. 90.

Inducenda est in occupatum locum virtus, quæ mendacia contra verum placentia exstirpet; quæ nos à populo, cui nimis credimus, separet, ac sinceris opinionibus reddat. Ep. 94.

[q] Tanta est corruptela malæ consuetudinis, ut ab ea tanquam igniculi extinguantur à naturâ dati, exorianturque & confirmentur vitia contraria. Cic. lib. i. de Leg. n. 33.

[r] Socrates hanc summam dixit esse sapientiam, bona malaque distinguere. Sen. Ep. 71.

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in history indeed, but are not always virtuous or estimable.

Properly speaking, the gospel only and the word of God can prescribe sure and infallible rules to direct us in judging rightly of all things; and it seems my duty to borrow solely from so rich a source the instructions I undertake to give youth on so important a subject. But to make them the better comprehend, how blameable the errors are which I oppose, and how contrary even to right reason, I shall extract my principles only from heathen writers, who will teach us, that what renders a man truly great and worthy of admiration, is neither riches, magnificent buildings, costly habits or sumptuous furniture, neither a luxurious table, great employments or high birth, neither reputation, famous exploits, such as victories and conquests, nor even the most valuable endowments of the mind [s]; but that a man owes his real worth to the heart, and that the more truly great and generous he is in that respect, the more he will despise what seems great in the eyes of the rest of mankind. At first my examples were taken only from ancient history; but certain persons of ability and understanding have since advised me to add others from modern history, and especially that of France, and have been pleased to supply me with several themselves, for which I take this opportunity of making my acknowledgments.

But though I have taken all my principles, and most of my examples, from heathen writers, and have avoided using those of the many illustrious saints Christianity might supply for all states and conditions, it does not follow that my design has been only to recommend virtues purely pagan. One may consider things in an human way, without considering the last end and prime inducements for pursuing them. And thus by degrees we may rise to a purer and more

[s] Cogita in te, præter animum, nihil esse mirabile, cui magno nihil magnum est. Sen. Ep. 8.
Hoc nos doce, beatum esse illum, cui omne bonum in animo est . . . illum erectum, & excelsum, & mirabilia calcantem. Id. Ep. 45.

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perfect virtue, and by becoming attentive and obedient to reason, be prepared to submit to religion and faith, which command the same duties, but upon higher motives, and with the promise of far more glorious rewards.

Lastly, I desire the reader would remember, that this work is not designed for the learned, who are already well versed in history, and may think the great number of facts I have quoted tedious, as containing nothing new to them [*t*]; but that my design is principally to instruct young students, who may often have scarce any other notion of history, than what they find in this; which has obliged me to be somewhat more prolix, to produce a greater number of examples, and to add more reflections than otherwise I should have done.

I. RICHES. POVERTY.

[*u*] As Riches purchase whatever is most esteemed and sought after in life, such as honours, employments, lands, houses, ornaments, luxurious boards, and all the train of vulgar pleasures; it is by no means surprising that these should be more esteemed and sought after than all the rest. This notion, too natural to children in itself, is cherished and supported in them by every thing they see and hear. All tends to resound the praises of Riches. Gold and silver are the only or the principal object of the admiration of mankind, of their desires and labours. They are regarded as alone capable of making life easy and happy, and Poverty on the other hand as the cause of shame and misfortune.

[*t*] Nos institutionem professi, non solum scientibus ista, sed etiam discentibus tradimus: ideoque paulo pluribus verbis debet haberi venia. Quint. lib. 11. cap. 1.

[*u*] Hæc ipsa res tot magistratus, tot judices detinet, quæ magistratus & judices facit, pecunia: quæ ex quo in honore esse cœpit, verus rerum honor cecidit. . . . Admirationem nobis parentes auri argentique fecerunt: & teneris infusa cupiditas altiùs sedit, crevitque nobiscum. Deinde totus populus, in alia discors, in hoc convenit: hoc suspiciunt, hoc suis optant. . . Denique eò mores redacti sunt, ut paupertas maledicto proboque sit, contempta divitibus, invisa pauperibus. Sen. Ep. 115.

And

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[x] And yet antiquity (to our great surprise) gives us an instance of a whole nation exclaiming against such sentiments. Euripides had put an high encomium of Riches into the mouth of Bellerophon, which he concluded with these words, *Riches are the sovereign happiness of mankind, and it is with reason, they excite the admiration of gods and men.* These last lines provoked the whole people of Athens. They rose up with one common voice against the poet, and would have immediately banished him the city, if he had not besought them to stay till the play was done, and they should see this idolater of Riches come to a miserable end. A bad, a wretched excuse! The impression which such maxims make upon the imagination, is too strong and lively to wait for the slow remedies, which an author may bring at the conclusion of his performance.

The people of Rome were no less noble in their sentiments. Their ambition was to gain a great deal of glory and little wealth. Every one sought, [y] says an historian, not to enrich themselves, but their country; and they rather chose to be poor in a rich commonwealth, than to be rich themselves, whilst the commonwealth was poor. [z] The Camilli, the Fabricii, and the Curii, were formed, we know, in the school and bosom of Poverty, and it was usual with their greatest men not to leave wherewithal to defray the expenses of their funerals, or to portion out their daughters.

Such also was the disposition of our ancient magistrates, and we read with pleasure in the history of the premier presidents of the university of Paris, that the famous "*John de la Vacquerie* died richer in honours "and reputation, than in the goods of fortune. For "having left behind him three daughters, the heir-"esses only of his virtues, his master king Lewis "XI. in acknowledgment of his services, took care

[x] Senec. Epist. 115.

[y] Patriæ rem unusquisque, non suam, augere properabat, pauperque in divite, quàm dives in paupere imperio versari malebat. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 4.

[z] Horat. Od. xii. lib. 2.

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" to marry them according to their condition, and " paid their fortunes out of his own treasury."

An expression of the emperor Valerian's shews us how much Poverty was esteemed even in the lower age of the empire. He had nominated Aurelian, who was afterwards emperor, to the consulship; and as he was poor he ordered the keeper of his treasury to supply him with all the money he should want for the expences he was to be at upon his entrance into that office, and wrote to him in these terms, [a] " You " shall give Aurelian, whom I have nominated con- " sul, whatever shall be necessary to defray the charges " of the customary shews. He deserves this assist- " ance *by reason of his Poverty, which renders him* " *truly great, and ranks him above all others.*"

Thus we see the sentiments of the truly generous and noble, in all ages and nations. [b] Those great men were of opinion, that nothing was a surer mark of a little abject spirit than the love of Riches, and nothing on the other hand more great and generous than to despise them; and thought it the highest pitch of virtue to bear up nobly under Poverty, and to look upon it as an advantage, rather than a misfortune. According to them the second degree of virtue consisted in making a good use of Riches, when they possessed them; and they judged it most agreeable to the end for which they were designed, and most likely to draw upon the rich the esteem and love of mankind, to make them subservient to the good of the society. In a word, [c] they counted nothing really their own, but what they had given away.

Cimon the Athenian general, thought his possessions were given him by fortune for no other end than

[a] Aureliano, cui consulatum detulimus, ob paupertatem, quâ ille magnus est, cæteris major, dabis ob editionem Circensium, &c. Vopisc. in Vita Imper. Aurel.

[b] Nihil est tam angusti animi tamque parvi, quàm amare divitias: nihil honestius magnificentiusque quàm pecuniam contemnere, si non habeas; si habeas, ad beneficentiam liberalitatemque convertere. Cic. lib. 1 Offic. n. 68.

[c] Nihil magis possidere me credam, quàm bene donata. Senec. de Vita Beat. cap. 20.

Hoc habeo, quodcumque dedi. Lib. 6. de Benef. cap. 3.

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to be distributed among his fellow-citizens, to clothe some, and to relieve the wants of others. What Philopemen gained from the enemy, he bestowed in supplying such of the citizens with arms and horses, as stood in need of them, and in ransoming such of them as had been made prisoners of war. Aratus, general of the Achæans, made himself universally beloved, and saved his country, by applying the presents he received from the kings, in appeasing the divisions which prevailed among his countrymen, in paying the debts of some, assisting others in their necessities, and redeeming captives.

To give but one single instance among the Romans, Pliny the younger disburses considerable sums for the service of his friends. [*d*] He forgives one person all he owes him. [*e*] He pays the debts of another, which he had contracted for just reasons. [*f*] He increases the portion of another's daughter, that she might keep up to the dignity of the person she was about to marry. [*g*] He supplies another with sums to make him a Roman knight. [*h*] To gratify another, he sells him a piece of land below its value. [*i*] He gives another wherewithal to return into his own country, and end his days there in quiet. [*k*] He makes himself easy in the differences of his family, and voluntarily gives up his own right. [*l*] He bestows upon his nurse a piece of ground, large enough for her subsistance. [*m*] He presents his country with a library, and a revenue sufficient to maintain it. [*n*] He settles salaries upon professors for the instruction of youth. [*o*] He erects a school for the education of orphans and poor children, of which there are some footsteps remaining to this day. And all this he does with a moderate fortune. But his frugality, as he declares himself, was a rich fund,

[*d*] Lib. 2. Ep 4.
[*e*] Lib. 3. Ep. 11.
[*f*] Lib. 6. Ep. 32.
[*g*] Lib. 1. Ep. 19.
[*h*] Lib. 7. Ep. 11, & 14.
[*i*] The poet Mart. Lib. 3. Ep. 21.
[*k*] Lib. 4. Ep. 10. Lib. 8. Ep. 2. Lib. 5. Ep. 7.
[*l*] Lib. 6. Ep. 3.
[*m*] Lib. 1. Ep. 8.
[*n*] Lib. 4. Ep 13.
[*o*] Lib. 1. Ep. 8.

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which supplied whatever was wanting to his revenue, and enabled him to bestow with such liberality, as is astonishing in a private man. [p] *Quod cessat ex reditu, frugalitate suppletur; ex quâ, velut ex fonte, liberalitas nostra decurrit.*

Let any one ask the boys what they think of such an example, after having compared this noble and amiable use of Riches with the behaviour of such unnatural persons, who live as if they were born only for themselves, who set no other value on Riches than as the means to indulge their passions, to support their luxury, and gratify their love of pleasures, a vain ostentation, or a restless curiosity; who are serviceable neither to their relations, their friends, nor their most ancient and faithful domestics; and who think themselves under no obligation by the ties of blood, friendship, gratitude, merit, or humanity, nor even to their country.

[q] When M. de Turenne undertook the command of the army in Germany, he found the troops in so bad a condition, that he sold his own plate to clothe the soldiers, and mount the horse, which he did more than once. Though his estate amounted to no more than forty [r] thousand livres a-year, he never would accept of the considerable sums his friends offered him, nor take up any thing on trust from the tradesmen, for fear, he said, that if he fell, they should lose a good part of it. And I know that all the workmen, employed about his house, were ordered to bring in their bills before he set out for the campaign, and were regularly paid.

[s] Whilst he commanded in Germany, a neutral town, which thought the king's army was marching towards them, offered this general an hundred thousand crowns to engage him to take another rout, and make amends for a day or two's march, which it

[p] Lib. 2. Ep. 4.

[q] Hommes Illustres de M. Perrault.

[r] When he died, he had not fifteen hundred livres by him in ready money.

[s] Lettres de Bourfault.

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might cost the army more. *I cannot in conscience,* answered M. Turenne, *accept of this sum, for I had no intention to pass by the town.*

The action of the great Scipio in Spain, when he added to the portion of a young captive princess the ransom her parents had brought to redeem her, gained him no less honour than the most famous of his conquests. A like action of the chevalier Bayard merits no less praise. [*t*] When Bresse was taken by storm from the Venetians, he saved a house from plunder, whither he had retired to have a dangerous wound dressed, which he had received in the siege, and secured the mistress of the family and her two daughters, who were hid in it. At his departure the lady, as a mark of her gratitude, offered him a casket containing two thousand five hundred ducats, which he obstinately refused. But observing that his refusal was very displeasing to her, and not caring to leave her dissatisfied, he consented to accept of her present, and calling to him the two young ladies to take his leave of them, he presented each of them with a thousand ducats to be added to their portion, and left the remaining five hundred to be distributed among the inhabitants that had been plundered.

But that we may have the better notion of the nobleness and greatness of a disinterested mind, let us consider it, not in generals and princes, whose glory and power may seem perhaps to heighten the lustre of this virtue, but in persons of a lower rank, who have nothing about them but the virtue itself to raise our admiration. A poor man, who was door-keeper to a boarding-house in Milan, found a purse with two hundred crowns in it. The man who had lost it, informed by a public advertisement, came to the house, and giving good proof that the purse belonged to him, the door-keeper restored it to him. The owner, full of joy and gratitude, offered his benefactor twenty crowns, which the other absolutely refused. He then

[*t*] Vie du Chev. Bayard.

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came down to ten, and afterwards to five. But finding him still inexorable, he throws his purse upon the ground, and in an angry tone, *I have lost nothing*, says he, *nothing at all, if you thus refuse to accept of any thing.* The door-keeper then accepted of five crowns, which he immediately distributed among the poor.

I have heard a lieutenant-general in the king's army say, that upon a certain occasion, when the soldiers were busy in stripping the bodies of the slain, the commanding officer, to encourage them to pursue the enemy, and at the same time to make amends for their loss, threw down among them forty to fifty pistoles, which he had in his pocket. The greatest part of them refused to share in this liberality, and thought it would dishonour them to want presents for doing their duty, and serving their king. The late M. de Louvois, being informed of this action, highly commended them, gave each of them a sum of money in sight of the army, and took care to advance them as occasion offered.

Whoever reads such stories as these cannot but be sensible of the impression they make upon his heart. Let us then compare so noble and generous a conduct with the low sentiments of abundance of persons, who seem to regard and value nothing in the great places they enjoy, but the opportunity to enrich themselves with ease, and we shall not scruple to conclude with Tully, that there is no vice so infamous, especially in persons of rank and office, as avarice. [*u*] *Nullum igitur vitium tetrius quam avaritiâ, præsertim in principibus, & rempublicam gubernantibus. Habere enim quæstui rempublicam, non modò turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam & nefarium.*

This passion for money is a fault extremely dishonourable to men of learning, as on the other hand nothing gains them a greater reputation, than the looking upon Riches with indifference.

[*u*] Lib. 2. Offic. n. 77.

Seneca,

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Seneca, after such frequent and high encomiums on poverty, [x] had great reason to reproach himself for his extravagant attachment to wealth, and those numberless acquisitions he made of lands, gardens, and magnificent buildings, not scrupling the practice of the most enormous usury to attain them, and bringing a disgrace entirely, if not upon philosophy, at least upon the philosopher.

All that he has said in one of his [y] discourses in defence of his conduct, will never convince us that he had not a strong inclination for Riches, and that he gave them entrance only in his house, and not into his heart. *Sapiens non amat divitias, sed mavult; non in animum illas sed in domum recipit.*

I am concerned [z] that Amiot, who was so great an honour to learning in his age, should have sullied his glory in some measure by this rust of avarice. He was a poor boy, and as is supposed the son of a butcher, and raised himself by his merit. He was made bishop of Auxerre, and grand almoner of France. Charles the IXth, whom he instructed and brought up, always called him his master, and sometimes diverting himself with him, would jestingly reproach him with his avarice. One day as Amiot was asking for a rich benefice, *Ah! master*, says the king, *you used to say, that if you had but a thousand crowns a year, you should be satisfied. I believe you have that and more.* *Sir*, answered he, *my appetite increases with my food.* He constantly attained what he asked for; and died worth above two hundred thousand crowns.

There is one now in the university, whom I dare not venture to name, because he is still living, but I cannot pass over in silence his noble and disinterested disposition. After he had taught philosophy in the college of Beauvais with great reputation, where he

[x] Ubi est *(addressing himself to Nero)* animus ille modicis contentus? Tales hortos instruit, & per hæc suburbana incedit, & tantis agrorum spatiis, tam lato fœnore exuberat? Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 53.

[y] L. de Vit. Beat. c. 17, 52.

[z] Dict. de Bayle.

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had been brought up as a scholar of the house, and was afterwards elected principal; at the very time he was possessed of the highest dignity in the university, he was called to court to assist in the education of the present king of Spain, and has since had the honour of attending upon the young monarch, now on the throne. The two courts of France and Spain have strove to express their acknowledgments by offering him benefices and pensions, which he has always constantly refused, alledging for a reason, that his salary was more than sufficient to support him according to his station, in which his different employments, how distinguished soever, have never caused him to make the least alteration.

II. BUILDINGS.

We seldom form a right judgment of objects that have a splendid outside, and strike the view by their external lustre. There are few persons, who hear of the famous pyramids of Egypt, without being transported with admiration, and extolling the grandeur and magnificence of the princes who raised them. And yet I question whether this admiration be well grounded, or those enormous piles of Building, which cost such immense sums, and occasioned the loss of so many men who were employed about them, and which were only intended for pomp and ostentation, [a] and not for any solid use; I question, I say, whether such Buildings deserve to be spoke of with so much applause.

True greatness does not consist in desiring or doing what a disordered imagination, or a popular error represent as great and magnificent. It does not consist in attempting difficult things, purely because they are difficult. Nor is it affected with what seems wonderful, or actuated by the pleasure of surmounting impossibilities, as history relates of Nero, with whom

[a] Pyramides regum pecunia otiosa ac stulta ostentio. Plin. lib. 39. Hist. Nat. c. 12.

what-

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whatever seemed impracticable had the idea of grand. [b] *Erat incredibilium cupitor.*

[c] Cicero was of opinion, that only such works and Buildings really deserved admiration, as were designed for the public good, such as aqueducts, city-walls, citadels, arsenals, and sea-ports.

[d] He observes that Pericles, the principal man in Greece, was justly blamed for exhausting the public treasures in adorning the city of Athens, and enriching it with superfluous ornaments. The Romans, from the foundation of the empire, had a very different taste. They had grandeur in their view, but in such matters only as concerned religion, or the public emolument. [e] Livy observes, that under Tarquinius Superbus they finished a work to carry off the waters of the town, and laid the foundations of the capitol with such magnificence, as after-ages have scarce been able to imitate; and we to this day admire the strength and beauty of the public ways, which were raised by the Romans in different parts, and still subsist almost entire after so many ages.

A like judgment is to be passed upon the Buildings of private persons. [f] Tully examining what kind of house is proper for a person in a great office and of distinguished rank in the state, thinks lodging and use what ought principally to be regarded; to which a second view might be added, with regard to convenience and dignity; [g] but he particularly recommends the avoiding all excessive magnificence and expence, as the example never fails of becoming pernicious and contagious, men being generally apt not only to imitate, but to exceed others in this particular. Who, says Tully, has rivalled the famous Lucullus

[b] Tacit. Ann. lib. 15. c. 42.
[c] Lib. 2. Offic. n. 60.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Lib. 1. n. 56.
[f] Lib. 1. Offic. n. 138.
[g] Cavendum est etiam, præsertim si ipse ædifices, ne extra modum sumptu & magnificentiâ prodeas: quo in genere multum mali etiam in exemplo est. Studiosè enim plerique, præsertim in hac parte, facta principium imitantur, ut L. Luculli summi viri virtutem quis? at quam multi villarum magnificentiam imitati sunt! Ibid. n. 40.

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in his virtues? But how many have followed his example in the costliness of his Buildings? And in our own days we could cite many families, which have either been entirely ruined, or remarkably hurt by a madness for building magnificent houses in town or country, which are the tombs of the most substantial riches of a family, and soon pass into the hands of strangers, who reap the advantage of the first owner's folly. And this should lead such persons as are entrusted with the education of youth, to caution them early against so common and so dangerous a taste.

[*h*] The ancient Romans were very remote from this. Plutarch mentions one Ælius Tubero in the life of Paulus Æmilius, [*i*] whom he calls an excellent man, and one that supported poverty in a more noble and generous manner than any other Roman. There were sixteen near relations, all of the Ælian family and name, who had only one little house in town, and another in the country, where they all lived together with their wives, and a great many little children.

Among the ancient Romans, it was not the house which honoured the master, but the master the house. [*k*] A cottage with them became as august as a temple, when justice, generosity, probity, sincerity, and honour were lodged in it; and how can a house be called small, which contains so many and so great virtues?

The taste for modesty in Buildings, and a disregard for all expensiveness in this particular, passed from the republic to the empire, and from private men to the emperors in person.

Trajan placed a glory in building little, that he might be the better able to support the ancient edifices. *Idem tam parcus in ædificando, quàm diligens in*

[*b*] Cic. lib. 1. de Offic. n. 139.

[*i*] Ἀνὴρ ἄξιος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα Ῥωμαίων πενίᾳ χρησάμενος.

[*k*] Istud humile tugurium... jam omnibus templis formosius erit, cùm illic justitia conspecta fuerit, cùm continentia, cùm prudentia, pietas, omnium officiorum rectè dispensandorum ratio. Nullus angustus est locus, qui hanc tam magnarum virtutum turbam capit. Senec. de Consol. ad Helv. cap. 9.

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lucendo. He set no value upon whatever administered to ostentation and vanity. [*l*] He understood, says Pliny, wherein the true glory of a prince consisted. He knew, that statues, triumphal arches, and Buildings, were liable to perish by fire and age, or the fancy of a successor; but that he who despises ambition, who governs his passions, and sets bounds to absolute power, is extolled by all the world during his life, and even after his death, when no body is constrained to praise him.

The event shewed that he was in the right. Alexander Severus repaired several works of Trajan's, and caused the emperor's name to be fixed upon them all, without allowing his own to be placed in his stead. All the great emperors acted with the same moderation, and we see to this day that more medals have been struck to the glory of such princes, as repaired public Buildings and the monuments of their predecessors, than in honour of those who raised new ones.

We have already observed, in another [*m*] place, that Augustus was always content with the same apartment and furniture during a reign of near fifty years.

[*n*] Vespasian and Titus looked upon it as an honour and a pleasure to preserve the little country-house, that was left them by their ancestors, without making any alteration in it.

Those masters of the world did not think themselves too straitly lodged in a house, which had been built only for a private person. The ruins of Adrian's country-seat are still remaining, which does not seem to have been larger than one of our common houses, and is by no means equal to that of several private persons now living.

[*l*] Scis ubi vera principis, ubi sempiterna sit gloria: ubi sint honores in quos nihil flammis, nihil senectuti, nihil successoribus liceat. Arcus enim, & statuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur & obscurat oblivio, negligit carpitque posteritas. Contrà, contemptor ambitionis, & infinitæ potestatis domitor ac frænator animus, ipsâ vetustate florescit, nec ab ullis magis laudatur, quàm quibus minimè necesse est. Plin.

[*m*] Sueton.

[*n*] Suet. in Vit. Vesp. cap. 2.

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For men now, who have no other merit than their riches, (and often of how mean an original!) build magnificent palaces both in town and country; and, to the misfortune of all around them, sooner or later their neighbour's house, vineyard, and inheritance, are swallowed up in their vast Buildings, and serve only to enlarge their gardens and parks.

[o] What is told of cardinal d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, and minister of state under Lewis XII. is a very extraordinary example. A gentleman of Normandy had an estate in land not far from the beautiful seat of Gaillon, which at that time belonged to the archbishopric of Rouen. He had no money to give with his daughter in marriage, and to procure a portion, offered to sell his land to the cardinal at a cheap rate. Another would perhaps have taken advantage of the occasion; but the cardinal, knowing the gentleman's motive, left him his land, and freely gave him as much money as he stood in need of.

We have had a prince [p] in our days, whose loss will be eternally lamented in France, as in many other respects, so particularly for his extreme aversion to all pomp and useless expence. It was proposed to him to put up finer and more fashionable chimney-pieces in one of his apartments; but as there was no necessity for the alteration, he chose rather to preserve the old ones. He was advised to buy a bureau, worth fifteen hundred livres, but thinking it too dear, he had an old one brought out of the wardrobe, and contented himself with that. And thus he behaved in every particular, and out of no other motive than that he might have wherewith to be the more liberal. How great a blessing to a kingdom, and how kind a present from heaven, is a prince of this character? in point of solid Glory and real Greatness, how far preferable is a tender love for the people, which extends to such self-denial for their benefit, to all the magnificence of the most sumptuous Buildings?

[o] Vie du Card. d'Amboise, par Baudier.

[p] The duke of Burgundy.

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It was this that Lewis XIV. when ready to expire, that is, at a time when the judgment is most sound, recommended to the present king, who sits upon the throne. Amongst other instructions, which have been justly deemed worthy of eternal remembrance, *I have been too fond of war* [q] said he to him, *do not follow me in that, nor in the very great expences I have run into.* In the last discourse he had with his grandson at Seaux, when he was setting out for Spain, he gave him the same advice; and the king of Spain told the person from whom I had it, that his grandfather spoke these words to him with tears in his eyes.

III. FURNITURE. DRESS. EQUIPAGE.

Nothing of this kind makes a man greater or more deserving, because nothing of all this makes a part of himself, but is wholly external and foreign to him. And yet the generality of mankind place their greatness in these. They look upon themselves as mixed and incorporated with all around them, their Furniture, Dress, and Equipage. They swell and enlarge the idea they form of themselves as much as they can, from these outward circumstances: by these they think they are very great, and flatter themselves that they appear so in the eyes of others.

[r] But to pass a right judgment upon their greatness, we should examine them in themselves, and set aside for a few moments their train and retinue. We

[q] Dernieres paroles de Louis XIV. au roi Louis XV. de l'imprimerie du cabinet du roi.

[r] Nemo istorum, quos divitiæ honoresque in altiore fastigio ponunt magnus est. Quare ergo magnus videtur? Cum basi illum suam metiris. Hoc laboramus errore, sic nobis imponitur, quòd neminem æstimamus eo quod est, sed adjicimus illi & ea quibus adornatus est. Atqui cùm voles veram hominis æstimationem inire, & scire qualis sit, nudum inspice. Ponat patrimonium, ponat honores, & alia fortunæ mendacia. Sen. Ep. 76.

Auro illos, argento, & ebore ornavi: intus boni nihil est. Isti, quos pro felicibus aspicitis, si, non qua occurunt, sed qua latent, videretis, miseri sunt, sordidi, turpes, ad similitudinem parietum suorum extrinsecus culti. Itaque, dum illis licet stare, & ad arbitrium suum ostendi, nitent & imponunt: cùm aliquid incidit quod disturbet ac detegat, tunc apparet quantum altæ ac veræ fœditatis alienus splendor absconderit. Id. lib. de Provid. cap. ix.

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should then find that they appear great and exalted, by being beheld at a distance, and raised in a manner upon their basis. Strip them of this advantage, and reduce them to their proper standard, to their just proportion, and the vain phantom vanishes. Their outside is rich and fine, like the walls of their apartments; within there is often nought but meanness, baseness, and poverty, with an hideous void of every merit; and sometimes even this fine outward shew conceals the most enormous crimes and the most infamous vices.

God, [s] says Seneca, could not have cast a greater reproach and disgrace upon these outward advantages, which are the object of our desires, than by conferring them, as he often does, upon sorry wretches, and denying them usually to men of the greatest probity. To what a condition would the latter be reduced, if men were to be judged by their outside? How often has the most solid merit been mistaken, and exposed even to contempt, because concealed under a mean habit, and an indifferent appearance?

[t] Philopemen, the greatest soldier of his age in Greece, who exalted so much the glory of the republic of the Achæans, by his extraordinary merit, and whom the Romans called by way of admiration the last of the Greeks; this Philopemen was usually clad in a very plain dress, and often went abroad without any servant or attendance. In this manner he came alone to the house of a friend who had invited him to dinner. The mistress of the family, who expected the general of the Achæans, took him for a servant, and begged he would give her his assistance in the kitchen, because her husband was absent. Philopemen without ceremony threw off his cloak, and fell to cleaving wood. The husband coming in at that instant, and surprised at the oddness of the sight. "[u] How now,

[s] Nullo modo magis potest Deus concupita traducere, quàm si illa ad turpissimos defert, ad optimis abigit. Ibid. cap. 5.

[t] Plut. in Vit. Philop.

[u] Τί τοῦτο (ἔφη) Φιλοποίμην; Τί γὰρ ἄλλο, (ἔφη δειρίζων ἐκεῖνος) ἢ κακῆς ὑπηρεσίας δίδωμι.

" Philo-

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"Philopemen," says he, "what's the meaning of "this?" "Oh," answered the other, "I am paying "interest for my bad appearance."

Scipio Æmilianus, who lived four and fifty years, never made any acquisition in all his life, and when he died, left only four and forty marks of silver plate, and three of gold, though he had been master of all the wealth of Carthage, and had enriched his soldiers more than any other general. Being deputed by the senate of Rome with full powers to restore discipline in the towns and provinces, and to inspect kings and nations, though descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, and adopted into one of the richest, and though he had so august a character to support in the name of the Roman empire, he carried with him but one friend, and he was a [x] philosopher, and five servants, one of which dying upon the road, he contented himself with the four that remained, till one came from Rome to supply his place. As soon as he came to Alexandria with his small retinue, his fame discovered him, notwithstanding all the care his modesty had taken to prevent it, and drew all the city to meet him upon his landing. [y] His personal one, without any other attendance but that of his virtues, his actions, and his triumphs, was enough to extinguish, even in the eyes of the people, the vain splendor of the king of Egypt, who was advanced to meet him with all his court, and drew upon him alone the eyes, the acclamations, and applauses of all the world.

[z] These examples teach us, that we ought not to value men by their outward appearance, any more than a horse by his trappings. An extraordinary merit may lie hid under a mean habit, as a rich garment may cover enormous vices. They shew us in the second place, that greater courage and resolution is required, than

[x] Panætius.

[y] Cùm per socios & exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victoriæ numerabantur; nec, quantum auri & argenti, sed quantum amplitudinis pondus secum ferret, æstimabatur. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 3. n. 13.

[z] Senec. Ep. 47.

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one would easily imagine, to become superior to popular opinions, and to get the better of the false infamy which the world is pleased to cast upon a plain, poor, and frugal manner of living. Seneca, as much a philosopher as he was, or had a mind to be thought, had always somewhat of this false shame hanging about him; and [a] he owns himself, that going down sometimes to his country-seat in an ordinary chariot, he has blushed against his inclination at being caught upon the road in such an equipage by persons of distinction; a certain proof, as he says himself, that he had not thoroughly reduced to practice what he had said and wrote upon the advantages of a frugal life. He that blushes at a mean chariot, adds he, is fond of a finer. And he has made little progress in virtue, who dares not openly declare in favour of poverty and frugality, and is at all concerned about the judgment of spectators.

[b] Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, was herein a greater philosopher than Seneca A Spartan education had armed him against this false shame. Pharnabasus, governor of one of the provinces belonging to the king of Persia, had desired to treat of peace with him; and the interview was appointed in the open field. The first appeared in all the pomp and luxury of the Persian court. He was dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold and silver. The ground was spread with rich carpets, and fine cushions were laid to sit down upon. Agesilaus, in a very plain dress, without any ceremony, sat himself down upon the grass. The pride of the Persian was confounded at his behaviour, and unable to support the comparison, paid homage to the plainness of the Lacedæmonian, by following his example. And this, because a quite dif-

[a] Vix à me obtineo, ut hoc vehiculum velim videri meum. Durat adhuc perversa recti verecundia. Quoties in aliquem comitatum lautiorem incidimus, invitus erubesco: quod argumentum est, ista quæ probo, quæ laudo, nondum habere certam fidem & immobilem. Qui sordido vehiculo erubescit, pretioso gloriatur. Parum adhuc profeci, nondum audeo frugalitatem palam ferre: etiam nunc curo opiniones viatorum. Id. Ep. 87.

[b] Plut. in Vit. Ages.

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ferent train, which far outshone all the gold and silver of Persia, surrounded Agesilaus, and gained him reverence; I mean, his name, his reputation, his victories, and the terror of his arms, which made the king of Persia tremble even upon his throne.

The emperors [c] Nerva, [d], Trajan, [e] Antoninus, and [f] Marcus Aurelius, sold the palaces, the gold and silver plate, the valuable furniture, and all the superfluities they could dispense with, which their predecessors had heaped up through a desire of possessing solely whatever was exquisitely curious. These princes, as also Vespasian, Pertinax, Severus, Alexander, Claudius II. and Tacitus, who were raised to the empire by their merit, and whom all ages have admired as the best and greatest of princes, always affected a great simplicity in their apparel, their furniture, and outward appearance, and despised whatever had the least tincture of pomp and luxury. By retrenching all useless expences, [g] they found a greater fund in their own modesty, than the most avaricious in all their spoils; and without endeavouring to set themselves off by any outward lustre, [h] shewed they were only emperors by the care they took of the public. In every thing else they resembled other citizens, and lived like private men. But the lower they stooped in their condescensions, the greater and more august they appeared.

[i] Vespasian upon solemn days drank out of a small silver cup, which had been left him by his grandmother, who brought him up. [k] Trajan's retinue was very modest and moderate. He had nobody to clear the way before him, and was pleased sometimes to be under a necessity of stopping in the streets to let the attendants of others pass by him.

[c] Dio.
[d] Plin. Paneg.
[e] Capitol.
[f] In Vit. Mar. Aurel. Vict. Epit. & Eutrop.
[g] Plin. Paneg.
[h] Dio. lib. 66. Τῇ φρονοίᾳ τῶν κοινῶν, αὐτοκράτωρ ἐνομίζετο.
[i] Sueton. Vit. Vespas. cap. 2.
[k] Plin. Paneg.

Marcus

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[*l*] Marcus Aurelius was still more averse to every thing that had the air of pomp and luxury. He lay upon the bare ground; at twelve years old he took the habit of a philosopher; he forbore the use of guards, the imperial ornaments, and the ensigns of honour, which were carried before the Cæsars and the Augusti. Nor was this conduct owing to the ignorance of what was grand and beautiful, but to the juster and purer taste he had of both, and to an intimate persuasion that the greatest glory, and principal duty of man, especially if in power, and eminently conspicuous, is so far to imitate the Deity, as to throw himself into a condition of wanting as little as may be for himself, and doing all the good to others he is capable of.

[*m*] Arnold d'Ossat, who is so famous for his wonderful abilities in negotiation, though his furniture fell far short of the dignity of a cardinal, refused to accept of the money, the chariot and horses, and the damask bed, which the cardinal de Joyeuse sent him as a present three weeks after his promotion. For, [*n*] says he, *though I have not all that is requisite to support this dignity, yet I will not for that reason renounce the abstinence and modesty I have always observed.* Such a disposition is far more extraordinary and valuable, than a magnificent equipage, and rich furniture.

[*o*] The tribune of the people, who became an advocate for the Roman ladies against the severity of Cato, and pleaded for the restoring to them, after the second Punic war, the right of wearing gold and silver in their apparel, seems to insinuate, that dress or ornament were in a manner their natural province; and that as they could not aspire to any preferments, to the priesthood, or the honour of a triumph, it would not only be cruel, but unjust, to refuse them a consolation, which the sole necessity of the times had taken from them. This reason might affect the

[*l*] M. Aur. Vit. Dio. Julian, Cæs.
[*m*] Vie du Card. d'Ossat.
[*n*] Lett. 181.
[*o*] Liv. lib. 34. n. 74.

people,

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people, but was not very honourable to the sex, as it taxes them with weakness and meanness, in representing them as fond of trifles. *Virorum hoc animos vulnerare posset, quid mulierc ularum censetis, quas etiam parva movent?*

Yet we learn from history, that the Roman ladies generously stripped themselves of all their jewels, and presented all their gold and silver, [p] at one time to enable the republic to discharge a vow made to Apollo, for which they had honourable distinctions granted them; [q] and at another, to redeem Rome from the Gauls, which procured them the right and privilege of being praised in funeral orations, as well as the men. [r] In the second Punic war the widows in like manner brought their gold and silver into the public treasury, to assist the state in the extreme necessity under which it groaned.

The famous Cornelia, daughter to the great Scipio, and mother to the Gracchi, is universally known. Her extraction was the noblest in Rome, and her family the richest. [s] A lady of Campania, coming to make her a visit, and lodging in her house, displayed with pomp whatever was then most fashionable and valuable for the toilet, gold and silver, jewels, diamonds, bracelets, pendants, and all the apparatus which the ancients called *mundum muliebrem*. She expected to find somewhat still finer in the house of a person of her quality, and desired very importunately to see her toilette. Cornelia artfully prolonged the conversation till such time as her children came home, who were then gone to the public schools, and pointing to them as they entered, "See here, says she, are "my jewels." *Et hæc, inquit, ornamenta mea sunt.* We need only examine our own thoughts in relation to those two ladies, to find out how far superior the noble simplicity of the one was to the vain magnificence of the other. And indeed what merit or ability is there in buying up a large collection of precious

[p] Liv. lib. 5. n. 25.
[q] Ib. n. 50.
[r] Ib. lib. 24. n. 18.
[s] Valer. Max. lib. 4. c. 4.

stones

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stones and jewels, in being vain of them, or in not knowing how to talk of any thing else? And on the other hand, how truly worthy is it in a person of the first quality to be above such trifles, to place her honour and glory in the good education of her children, in sparing no expence towards the bringing it about, and in shewing that nobleness and greatness of soul do equally belong to both sexes?

"[t] De Beaunes, archbishop of Bourges, in the ora-
" tion he made to the states of Blois against luxury,
" and principally with respect to coaches, which se-
" veral persons of mean condition began to make use
" of, highly commends the modesty of the premier
" president du Thou's lady, who, to set an example
" to other ladies of quality, was always content to be
" carried behind another on horseback, when she
" made her visits in the town." What merits praise in this little story, is not the visiting on horseback, (such were the customs of those times) but the noble greatness of soul in this lady, who thought, that the giving others an example of modesty and simplicity was the best manner of supporting the dignity of her station, and becoming in reality a premier president.

IV. OF LUXURY IN EATING AND DRINKING.

This was carried in the declension of the republic to an almost incredible excess, and under the emperors they still rose upon the gluttony of their predecessors.

[u] Lucullus, who in other respects was a man of excellent qualities, upon his return from the war, attempted to substitute the glory of magnificence to that of his arms and battles, and turned all his studies that way. He laid out immense sums upon his houses and gardens, and was still more expensive at his table. He required it every day to be served up in the same sumptuous manner, though nobody was to dine with him. As his steward was one day excusing the meanness of

[t] Opusc. de Leysel. [u] Plut. in Luculli.

his

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his dinner, because there was no company, "Did you "not know," says he, "that Lucullus was to eat at "Lucullus's house to-day." Tully and Pompey not giving credit to the reports of his ordinary magnificence, were resolved one day to surprise him, and be satisfied whether it was so or not. And meeting him in public, they invited themselves, and would not allow him to give any directions to his domestics about their entertainment. He therefore barely ordered that dinner should be served up in the hall of Apollo. The entertainment was got ready with so much celerity and opulence, as surprised and astonished his guests. They did not know that the *hall of Apollo* was a watch-word, and signified that the feast should amount to [x] fifty thousand drachms.

If good eating and drinking were capable of procuring solid glory, Lucullus was the greatest man of his age. But who sees not, how pitiful and silly it was to place his honour and reputation in making the world believe, that he every day squandered enormous and senseless expences for the gratification of his own private appetite? I question whether his guests, who mightily commended and admired, no doubt, such prodigious magnificence, were much wiser than he. For it was they supported his folly and distemper. [y] *Irritamentum est omnium, in quæ insanimus, admirator & conscius.* "To admire the folly of a madman "is to promote his folly." And the same may be said of all that outward magnificence, by which men strive to make themselves considerable, large apartments, valuable furniture, and rich garments. [z] It is all for shew, and not for ease; for the spectators, and not for the master. Place him in solitude, and you make him frugal and modest, and all this vanity is at an end.

[x] 2500 livres.

[y] Senec. Ep. 94.

[z] Quid miraris? Quid stupes? Pompa est. Ostenduntur istæ res, non possidentur. Senec. Ep. 110.

Ambitio & luxuria scenam desiderant: sanabis ista, si absconderis. Id. Ep. 94.

Assuescamus à nobis removere pompam, & usus rerum non ornamenta metiri. Id. de Tranquil. Animæ, c. 9.

But

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But to give a different instance of this folly. [a] A person, entering Anthony's kitchen, was surprised to see eight wild boars roasting at the same time. He judged there was like to be a great deal of company, but was mistaken. Whilst Anthony was at Alexandria there was always a magnificent entertainment ready to be served up about supper-time, that whenever Anthony was pleased to call for it, he might have his table covered with the most exquisite meats.

I forbear to mention such extravagant and wild expences, as a dish made up of the tongues of the scarcest birds in the universe, or several pearls of immense price infused and dissolved in a certain liquor, for the pleasure of swallowing down a million at a draught.

To these monsters of luxury, who are a disgrace to mankind, let us oppose the modesty and frugality of a Cato, the honour of his age and commonwealth; I mean the elder, who is usually sirnamed the Censor. [b] He boasted that he had never drank any other wine, but such as was drunk by his workmen and domestics, never bought a supper which exceeded thirty sestertia,* nor ever wore a garment which cost above an hundred drachms of silver. He learnt to live thus, he said, from the example of the famous Curius, that great man who drove Pyrrhus out of Italy, and had thrice the honour of a triumph. The house he had lived in, in the country of the Sabines, was near to Cato's, and for this reason he looked upon it as a model the more venerable from being in his neighbourhood. It was this Curius the embassadors of the Samnites found in a poor little cottage, sitting in the chimney-corner boiling of roots, who rejected their presents with disdain, telling them, that whoever could be content with such a supper did not want gold; and that for his part he thought it more honourable to command over those who had riches, than to have them himself.

[a] Plut. in Vit. Anton. [b] Plut. in Vit. Cat. Cens.

* About three shillings.

These

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These examples may be too old perhaps to make any impression upon the generality of mankind in our age: but they had such an effect upon several of the greatest Roman emperors, that though they were in full possession of riches and power, though they were to support the majesty of a large empire, and had the profusion of their predecessors in every kind before their eyes, they thought they could not aspire to be really great, but as they rose above that corruption of their own age, and resembled those venerable models of antiquity, formed upon the rules of the purest reason and the justest taste of solid Glory.

It was by studying these great originals, that Vespasian declared himself an enemy to all pomp, pleasures and entertainments, and that he followed the modesty and frugality of the ancients in every thing about him. It was by these virtues he checked the course of public luxury and prodigality, especially with respect to eating. And this disorder [c] which under Tiberius seemed to be past all remedy, and had increased excessively under the succeeding bad princes, and which the laws, armed with all the terrors of punishment, had not been able to suppress, [d] gave way to the bare example he set of sobriety and temperance, and the desire others had of pleasing him by doing as he did. [e] In the same manner he threw a scandal and disgrace upon luxury and effeminacy, by taking away a commission from a young man to whom he had given it, because he was perfumed when he came to thank him for it. *I had rather*, said he, *you had stunk of garlic.*

The emperors Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Severus, Alexander, Pertinax, Aurelian, Tacitus, Claudius II. and Probus, all princes who have done the greatest honour to the throne, guided by the same taste, and disciples of the same masters, al-

[c] Tacit. Ann. l. 3. c. 52.

[d] Præcipuus adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque: obsequium inde in principem & æmulandi amor, validior quàm pœna ex legibus, & metus. Tacit. Ann. l. 3. c. 55.

[e] Suet. l. 8. c. 8.

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ways took care to be very frugal and modest in their tables, and banished all expence and delicacy from them with the utmost severity. Most of them, whilst in the camp, [f] eat the common food that was given to the army; and Alexander, to satisfy the soldiers that he fed as they did, caused his tent to be always open, whilst he was at his meals. When he was not in the field, [g] the daily expence of his house, to our great astonishment, was so small, that now-a-days it would scarce suffice a private family. He had no gold utensils, and his silver plate did not amount to three hundred marks; so that when much company was to dine with him, he would borrow the plate of his friends, with their servants to wait on them; not keeping more officers in his palace, than he commonly stood in need of. And this not out of any parsimonious disposition, for never prince was more liberal, [h] but out of a thorough conviction, as he would often say, that the grandeur and glory of the empire did not consist in splendor and magnificence, but in the strength of the state, and the virtue of those who governed it. [i] Ptolemy, king of Egypt, had long before set a like example of modesty. He had very little plate in his palace, no more than was requisite for his own private use. And when he invited any of his friends to dine with him, he would send and borrow theirs, [k] declaring it was more worthy of a king to enrich others, than to be rich himself.

What is reported of the emperor Probus, [l] who holds one of the first places in the number of great princes, and under whom the Roman empire arrived

[f] Cheese, bacon, beans, pulse.

[g] Fifteen pints of wine a day, thirty pounds of meat, and eighty pounds of bread, Only they added a green goose on feast days, and upon great solemnities a pheasant or two, and two capons. Lamp. in Vit. Alex.

[h] Ibid.

[i] The son of Lagus. Plut. ix. Apophthegm.

[k] Τὸ πλουτεῖν ἔλεγε τὸ πλουτίζειν εἶναι βασιλικώτερον.

[l] Synesius names him Carinus, but M. Tillemont, after F. Petavius, is of opinion that it agrees better with Probus.

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at the highest pitch of happiness, is no less worthy of admiration. During his war with Persia, as he was sitting at dinner upon the bare ground, and eating a mess of pork and pease, word was brought him that the Persian embassadors were arrived. Without changing either his posture or dress, which was no other than a purple coat, but made of woollen, and a cap which he wore for want of hair, he ordered them to be introduced, and told them that he was the emperor, and they might go and tell their master, that if he did not take care, he would in a month's time lay all his fields as naked of trees and corn, as his head was of hairs; and at the same time he took off his cap, to make them the better comprehend his meaning. He then invited them to eat part of his dinner, in case they were hungry; if not, they had nothing to do but to go back immediately. The embassadors made their report to their prince, who was in a terrible fright, as well as his soldiers, that they had to deal with a people, who were such professed enemies to luxury and pleasures. He came in person to meet the emperor, and granted him whatever he demanded.

But comparing all I have hitherto mentioned concerning pomp and simplicity; on the one side, whatever is most splendid, riches, magnificent buildings, furniture, fine clothes, and a table most sumptuously and delicately spread; and on the other, poverty, simplicity, frugality, and modesty, but attended with victories, triumphs, consulships, dictatorial power, and even the empire of the world; I leave it to the judgment of any man of good sense and reason, on which side lies the noble and great, and which he thinks deserves most his esteem and admiration. The decision will not be difficult. And it is this natural and unstudied sense of things, which I look upon as the rule of good taste in the point of solid Glory and real Grandeur.

In quoting these ancient examples of modesty and frugality, I have no design to propose them as perfect

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models for our imitation. Our age and manners cannot bear so masculine and robust a virtue. There are besides certain rules of decency to be observed, and in every state and condition things may be reduced to an honest and commendable mediocrity, which will justify and direct the use of them. But how much ought we to be concerned, and ashamed to observe to what a degree our manners have degenerated from the virtue of the ancient Pagans? and what efforts ought we not to make to conform in some measure at least to those primitive rules, though we are not so happy to have any longer the courage and liberty entirely to come up to them.

My design in these examples, is first to teach youth, that they ought not to look upon such as lead a poor and frugal life, as contemptible, or even unhappy. It is the reflection which Seneca draws from the examples before us. Do we think, [*m*] says he, that our ancestors, whose virtues still support the empire, which our vices would have long ago destroyed, were much to be pitied, for dressing their own dinners, for lying on hard couches, or for having neither gold nor diamonds in their houses and temples?

I am sensible that one objection may be made to all I can say of the ancient Greeks and Romans. For though we may respect the examples of frugality, simplicity, and poverty, in Aristides, Cimon, Curius, Fabricius, Cato, &c. yet it is natural enough to make some abatements, from a persuasion, that in poor republics it was scarce possible to live otherwise; and it is still doubtful with the generality of people, whether these examples can be of any use to our age, which is richer and more plentiful, and in which it would be ridiculous to attempt to imitate them. But in my opinion the example of the emperors

[*m*] Scilicet majores nostri, quorum virtus etiam nunc vitia nostra sustentat, infelices erant, qui sibi manu suâ parabant cibum, quibus terra cubile erat, quorum tecta nondum auro fulgebant, quorum templa nondum gemmis nitebant? Senec. de Consol. ad Helv. c. 10.

amounts

amounts to full proof, and sets the matter beyond exception. In short, if those masters of the world, whose riches were equal to their power, and who succeeded to emperors that had carried luxury, pleasures, epicurism and extravagance to the utmost heights of excess, were still fond of frugality, modesty, simplicity, and poverty, what reasonable reply can be made to the maxims I have laid down upon this subject?

I would desire to know, whether those great princes I have spoken of, those men of extraordinary talents and superior genius, had not the taste of real Greatness and solid Glory; whether all nations and ages have been mistaken in the high encomiums they have given them; and whether any one ever ventured to charge them with having debased either the nobility of their birth, the dignity of their station, or the majesty of the empire; and whether on the other hand these were not the qualities which raised them the higher, and have universally drawn upon them the esteem, love, and admiration of posterity. Can any private person now imagine himself a better judge of real glory than they were, or should he think himself unhappy or dishonoured, by being found in such illustrious company, and standing by a Trajan, an Antoninus, or a Marcus Aurelius? Shall we pay a greater regard to an Apicius, who setting up for a perfect master in the art of cookery, infected and corrupted his age by that wretched science? [n] *Qui scientiam popinæ professus, disciplinâ suâ seculum infecit.* "He who professed the science of cookery, and "infected the age he lived in." Shall we prefer to the great examples I have quoted those of Caligula, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Commodus, or Heliogabalus? For, to the inestimable good fortune of their people, all the good emperors in general, and without exception, have been of the character I here recommend; and all the bad emperors in general are found in the opposite class, with all the vices which I condemn.

[n] Senec. de Consol. ad Helv. cap. 10.

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My design, secondly, is to instil into youth a veneration for the original source and principle from whence arose that generous contempt which the great men of antiquity shewed for what the greatest part of mankind now admire and pursue. For it is this principle, this disposition of the mind, which is really estimable. A man may be reserved and modest in the midst of riches and honours, as he may be proud and avaricious in the obscurity of a poor and wretched life.

[o] The emperor Antoninus is judged to be one of the greatest princes that ever reigned. He was held in such reverence by all posterity, [p] that neither the Roman people, nor the soldiers, could suffer any other emperor to be called after his name; and Alexander Severus himself found it too august, to venture upon assuming it. [q] Antoninus, through an equality of mind and greatness of soul, which rendered him independent of all without him, was usually satisfied with what was most plain and moderate. As he affected nothing particular in his food, lodging, bed, domestics or dress, wearing only the common stuffs, and such as were readiest to be met with; so he would make use of the conveniences which offered, without rejecting them through affectation; equally ready to use every thing with moderation, or lay it aside without uneasiness.

It was this disposition of mind the wife of Tubero, whom I have already spoken of, particularly admired in her husband, according to the judicious observation of Plutarch. "She was not ashamed, [r] says "the historian, of her husband's poverty, but admired in him the virtue which made him consent "to remain poor:" that is, the motive which retained him in his poverty, by disapproving the means of becoming rich, which are usually dishonest and unjust.

[o] Dio, lib. 70. Capitol in Vit. T. Antonin.

[p] Capitol. in Vit. Macrin. Dlad. Getæ. Lamprid. in Vit. Alex.

[q] M. Aur. lib. 1. c. 18. & lib. 6. c. 23.

[r] Οὐκ αἰσχυνομένη τὴν πενίαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζουσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἣς πένης ἦν.

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just. For the lawful ways of accumulating wealth were very rare to a noble Roman; as he could not apply himself to business and trade, nor expect any gratification, or pension, or other kind of benefit, which officers usually now receive from the liberality of our princes, by way of recompence for the services he did the state. There was scarce any other way of becoming rich, but by plundering the provinces, as other magistrates and generals did. And it was this greatness of soul, this disinterestedness, this delicacy and love of justice, which made him reject all unworthy means of throwing off his poverty, that this lady so deservedly admired in him. Infinitely above the common sentiments of the world, she discerned through the veils of poverty and simplicity the greatness of soul which occasioned them, and thought herself obliged to respect her husband still more upon that very account, which might perhaps have rendered him contemptible to other women; Θαυμάζουσα τὴν ἀφιτὴν δι' ἣν πένης ἦν.

In my opinion, youth should principally be put upon taking notice of such passages as these, whilst they are reading history, as nothing is more capable of forming their taste and judgment, to which the care of masters ought entirely to tend.

It is of service also to confirm these instructions by examples taken from modern history, and especially of the great men, whose memory is still recent. Who has not heard of M. de Turenne's simplicity and modesty in his retinue and equipage? "He strives "to conceal himself," says M. Flechier in his funeral oration, "but his reputation discovers him. He "marches without a train of attendants, whilst every "man in his own mind places him upon a triumphal "car. As he passes by, the enemies he has con-"quered are reckoned, and not the servants which "follow him. Alone as he is, we imagine him sur-"rounded in all places with his virtues and victories. "There is something extremely noble in this elegant "simplicity, and the less haughty he is, the more

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"venerable he becomes." His character was exactly the same in all respects, in his buildings, his furniture and his table. M. de Catinat, the worthy disciple of such a master, imitated him in his simplicity, as well as in his military virtues.

I have heard some officers say, who had served under these two great men, that in the army their tables were well supplied, but with great plainness; that they were plentiful, but military; that they eat only of common food, and drank only of the wine of the country where the troops lay.

Mareschal de la Ferte, when no longer able to serve, through his great age and infirmities, ordered his son's equipage for the campaign to be got ready. His steward having made ample provision of truffles, morilles, and all the other materials that were requisite to make excellent ragoos, by the son's direction, brought in the bill. The mareschal had scarce cast his eye upon it, before he threw it away in a passion, "It is not thus, said he, that we made war. Coarse "meat plainly dressed was all the ragoos we had. "Go, tell my son, that I will not put myself for no- "thing to so foolish an expence, and so unworthy of "a soldier." This I was told by an officer that was present. And the same gentleman observed, that in the late war the officers, that met at Paris, seldom entertained themselves with any other food, than such as they had eaten during the campaign.

Lewis XIV. in the military code he has left behind him, which contains divers regulations for the soldiery, besides what relates to plate, equipage, and dress, [s] particularly recommends plainness and frugality

[s] Sa majesté voulant par toutes voies ôter les moyens aux officiers généraux de ses armées de se constituer en des dépenses inutiles & superflues, comme celles qui se font en leurs tables, s'étant introduit une méchante coutume de faire dans les armées des repas plus magnifiques & somptueux qu'ils ne sont ordinairement en leurs maisons: ce qui non seulement incommode les plus riches, mais ruine entièrement les moins accommodés, qui à leur exemple PAR UNE FAUSSE RE-PUTATION, croient être obligés de les imiter... Défend sa majesté aux lieutenans généraux, &c. qui tiendront table, d'y faire servir autre chose que des potages & du rôti, avec des entrées & entremets qui

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gality in eating; and to this end enters into a very particular detail, and forbids an expensive and sumptuous table under severe penalties. Thus a prince, who knows how to govern, easily comprehends how important it is to the state to banish all luxury and magnificence from the camp; [*t*] to suppress the senseless ambition of such as strive to distinguish [*u*] themselves by a false politeness, and the study of what softens and enervates mankind; and to cover with shame such profusions as consume in a few months what might serve for several years, *or be so much more nobly applied in relieving the distresses, and promoting the happiness of mankind.*

V. HONOURS. DIGNITIES.

Posts of preferment, and the marks of respect annexed to them, may flatter the ambition and vanity of mankind, but in themselves include no real Glory or solid Greatness, as they are foreign to them, as they are not always the proof and reward of merit, as they add nothing to the good qualities either of body or mind, as they correct none of our faults but often on the contrary serve to multiply and make them more remarkable, by making them conspicuous, and exhibiting them in a stronger light. Those who judge best, without suffering themselves to be dazzled by empty shew, have always held dignities as burthens which they were loaded with, rather than honoured by; and the higher they have been raised, the heavier and more dreadful the weight has appeared. There is nothing so splendid in the eyes of mankind, as royalty and sovereign power, and nothing at the same time so laborious and oppressive. The glory which

qui ne seront que de grosses viandes, sans qu'il puisse y avoir aucunes assiettes volantes ni hors d'œuvre, &c. Réglemens du 24 Mars 1672, & du premier Avril 1705.

[*t*] Ambitione stolidâ luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum, & irritamenta libidinum, ut instrumenta belli, lucrantur. Tacit. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 88.

[*u*] Paulatim discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, balnea & conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocatur. Tacit. in Vit. Agric. cap. 21.

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surrounds it, makes us with reason admire such persons as have had the courage to refuse it; and the labour and pains which are inseparable from it, make us still more admire such as rightly discharge all the duties of it.

The young Sidonians, who refused the sceptre which was offered them, well understood, as Hephæstion tells them, that it was far more glorious to despise, than to accept royalty [x] *Primi intellexistis, quanto majus esset regnum fastidire, quàm accipere.* And the answer of Abdalonymus, whom they had raised from the dust to a throne, sufficiently explains his opinion of it. Alexander asking him how he had borne his condition of poverty and misery; "Would "to God, says he, I could bear royalty with as much "courage and resolution!" *Utinam, inquit, eodem animo regnum pati possim!* The phrase, *regnum pati*, "to bear royalty," is very expressive, and plainly shews that he thought it a heavier and more dangerous burden than poverty.

We shall see hereafter in what manner the Romans were forced to offer violence to Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, before he would accept of an authority, which seemed to him the more formidable, as it gave him an almost unlimited power, and, under the specious title of king and master, made him the actual servant and slave of all his subjects.

[y] Tacitus and Probus, who did so much honour to the royal dignity, were both advanced to the empire against their will. The first urged his great age and weakness, which made him incapable of marching at the head of an army; [z] but the whole senate answered, that the empire was entrusted to his understanding and prudence, that it was his merit they chose and not his body. And a letter which Probus wrote to one of the principal officers of the empire, fully explains his real sentiments. "I never desired,

[x] Q. Curt. lib. 4. n. 1.
[y] Vopisc. in Vit. Probi & Tacit.
[z] Quis melius quàm senex imperat? Imperatorem te, non militem facimus. Tu jube, milites pugnent; animum tuum, non corpus, eligimus.

"says

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"says he, the place I possess; I was raised to it "against my will, and continue in it only through "an apprehension of exposing the republic and my- "self to new dangers by deserting it."

[a] Upon the death of the emperor Maximilian, there arose very powerful factions in behalf of those who laid claim to the empire. The two principal competitors were Francis I. and Charles V. The electors, to put an end to these disputes, resolved to exclude them both as being foreigners, and to place the imperial crown upon one of their own nation, and of the number of the electors. They therefore unanimously chose Frederic of Saxony, sirnamed the Wise, who desired two days to consider of it; on the third he thanked the electors with great modesty, but told them that at his age he found himself unable to support so great a burden. And continuing firm in this resolution, notwithstanding all their remonstrances, the electors desired he would nominate the person he judged most proper, and assured him they would conform to his advice. Frederic long refused it, but at last being forced upon it by the pressing instances of the electors, he declared in favour of the catholic king.

What we have here said of sovereign power may be applied to all posts in the state, and all offices of magistracy. The wisest princes have set aside the ambitious, and raised such as declined employments. "[b] They saw, notwithstanding the darkness of in- "fidelity, that the republic could only be trusted with "security to such as had merit enough to fear the "administration of it." And they enquired with so much care after persons worthy of the great offices of state, that they found men to whom it was necessary to use violence, before they would accept of them, as Pliny observes of Trajan.

All these examples prove, that there is nothing really great in honours and dignities, but the danger which surrounds them; that true glory consists in

[a] Vie de Charles V. par Leti. [b] Lamp. in Vit. Alex. Sever.

knowing

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knowing how to look upon them with a generous contempt, or in accepting them only for the public good; that solid greatness consists in renouncing greatness itself; that a man becomes a slave from the moment he is fond of it, and that he is superior to it only when he contemns it.

VI. VICTORIES. NOBILITY OF BLOOD. ABILITIES. REPUTATION.

I join all these under one title, though very different in themselves, because they have all something in them extremely flattering and delusive, and seem to have somewhat more directly personal and peculiar to their possessors. But though they are far superior to the advantages already spoken of, yet solid Glory and real Greatness do not however consist in them.

Victories.

If there be any thing capable of exalting man above his nature, and giving him a superiority that distinguishes him from the rest of mankind, it seems to be the glory which results from battles and victories. A prince, a general, marching at the head of a numerous army, whose eyes are all bent upon him; who by a single signal actuates that vast body, of which himself is the soul, and sets an hundred thousand arms in motion; who carries terror and consternation along with him wherever he goes; who sees the strongest ramparts and highest towers fall down before him; at whose presence, in a word, the whole universe trembling and affrighted keeps silence; such a man seems to be something mighty grand, and to come very near the Divinity.

And yet if we coolly, rationally, and without prejudice examine the famous heroes of antiquity, those illustrious conquerors, we shall often find, that this glittering shew of warlike actions is but a vain phantom, which may impose upon us at a distance, but disappears and vanishes in proportion as we approach it;

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it; and that all this pretended glory has often had no other principle and foundation, but ambition, avarice, injustice, and cruelty.

This Seneca observes of the greatest warriors, and such as have had the largest share in the admiration of all ages. We find, [c] says he, abundance of heroes, who have carried fire and sword into many nations, have stormed towns which till their time were held impregnable, have conquered and ravaged vast provinces, and marched to the utmost limits of the earth, covered over with the blood of all opposers. But these conquerors of so many nations were themselves overcome by their passions. They found nobody that could resist them, but were themselves unable to resist their own ambition and cruelty.

Can we call the furious disposition of Alexander, which led him into distant and unknown countries, only with a view to plunder them, by any other name than madness? Was he wise, for depriving every private man, every country, of what was most dear and valuable, and for spreading desolation wherever he came, beginning with Greece, to which he owed his education? How intoxicated must he have been with glory, who thought the whole world too little for him? [d] He one day asked a pirate, whom he had taken, what right he thought he had to infest the seas: "The same, answered he, boldly, that you "have to over-run the world. But because I do it in "a small vessel, I am called a robber; and you are "named a conqueror, for doing it with a great fleet." A very sharp answer, and what is more, a true one.

[e] What was it that extinguished in the heart of Cæsar, all the sentiments of fidelity, submission, justice,

[c] Senec. Ep. 94.

[d] Eleganter & veraciter Alexandro illi Magno quidam comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cùm idem rex hominem interrogasset, quid ei videretur, ut mare haberet infestum; ille liberâ contumaciâ. Quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor; quia tu magnâ classe, imperator. A fragment of Tully's third book de Republ. quoted by S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. a. 4.

[e] Quid C. Cæsarem in sua fata pariter ac publica immisit? Gloria &

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tice, humanity, and gratitude he owed to his republic, which had chosen him from the rest of the citizens, to advance him to the highest command, and lavish upon him its honours and dignities, but an immoderate ambition, and an illusion of false glory, which inspired him with an ardent desire of seeing all mankind under subjection to himself, and induced him to say that he would rather chuse to be the principal man in a village, than the second in Rome? What other motive induced him to turn those very arms against his country, she had put into his hands to be employed against the enemies of the state, and to make use of all the power and greatness he held only from her, to put her to the sword, after having deluged her in the blood of her children? [*f*] He doubtless thought, as Civilis the chief of the rebels, who endeavoured to shake off the Roman yoke, expressed it, that nothing was unlawful to a man when in arms, nor any body accountable for a victory; *victoriæ rationem non reddi.*

Every equitable and rational man, who shall read over attentively all the lives of the famous men among the Greeks and Romans, as they stand in Plutarch; if he examines and asks his own heart the question, will find that it is not Alexander or Cæsar he prefers before all the rest; that they were neither the greatest, nor the most accomplished, nor such as did the most honour to human nature; and that he does not judge them to be most deserving his esteem, love, and veneration, nor of the just praises of posterity.

Besides, military valour often leaves the men, whom conquests have made famous, very weak and mean at other times, and with reference to other objects. [*g*] Made up of good and bad qualities, they strive to appear great, when exposed to open view; but return to their natural littleness, as soon as they

& ambitio, & nullus supra ceteros eminendi modus. Sen. Ep. 94.

[*f*] Tacit. Hist. l. 4. c. 14.

[*g*] Malis bonisque artibus mixtus, &c. Palam laudares: secreta malè audiebant. Tacit. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 10.

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are left to themselves, and the eyes of mankind taken off from them. It is surprising when we see them alone and without armies, what a mighty difference there is between a general and a great man.

In order to their passing a right judgment upon these famous conquerors, it is necessary to teach youth carefully to distinguish what is valuable in them from what deserves to be censured. In doing justice to their courage, activity, ability in business, and prudence, they must be blamed for frequently mistaking the use they should have made of those great qualifications, and employing such talents, as in themselves are always estimable, to the gratification of their vices and passions, which should have been made subservient only to virtue. For want of distinguishing things so different, it is but too usual to confound their real with their pretended motives, the private ends they proposed to themselves with the means of attaining them, and their abilities with the abuse they have made of them, and by an error still more pernicious, in suffering ourselves to be too much carried away by their great actions, which have lustre enough to conceal their vices and injustice, we pay them an entire and unexceptionable regard, and accustom inattentive persons to place vice in the room of virtue, and highly commend what deserves to be blamed. It is the justice of the war, and the wisdom of the conqueror alone, which can render a victory glorious and worthy our admiration. For it must be laid down as a principle, that glory and justice are inseparable; [h] *Nihil honestum esse potest, quod justitiâ vacat;* and [i] if it is private passion, and not the public advantage, that puts us upon facing dangers, such a disposition does not deserve the name of courage and resolution, but should rather be called ferocity and audaciousness.

[h] Offic. lib. 1. n. 62.

[i] Animus paratus ad periculum si suâ cupiditate, non utilitate communi impellitur, audaciæ potius nomen habeat, quàm fortitudinis. Ibid. n. 63.

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[*k*] A memorable speech of the chevalier Bayard's, as he was dying, shews the truth of what I have here been speaking. He had received a mortal wound, as he was fighting for his king, and was lying down at the foot of a tree. The constable duke de Bourbon, who was pursuing the army of the French, passing by, and knowing him, told him he was very much concerned to see a person of his merit in such a condition. Captain Bayard answered him, *Sir, there is no concern due to me, for I die like an honest man: but I am concerned for you indeed, to see you fighting against your prince, your country, and your oath.* And shortly after he gave up the ghost. Now where lay the glory? on the side of the conqueror, or was not the fate of the dying person far preferable to his?

Nobility of Birth.

It must be owned there is a powerful charm [*l*] in nobility of birth and the antiquity of families, to procure esteem, and gain upon the inclinations of mankind. This respect which it is natural to have for nobility, [*m*] is a kind of homage we think ourselves still obliged to pay to the memory of their ancestors for the great services they have done the state, and is the continued payment of a debt, which could not fully be discharged to them in person; and for this reason extends to all their posterity.

[*n*] Besides the tie of gratitude, which engages us not to limit our respect for great men to the time wherein they live, as they do not themselves confine their zeal to to such narrow bounds, but strive to become useful to future ages; [*o*] the public interest

[*k*] Hist. du Cheval. Bayard.

[*l*] Erat hominum opinioni nobilitate ipsa, blanda conciliatricula, commendatus. Cic. pro Sext. n. 21.

[*m*] Qua in oratione plerique hoc perficiunt, ut tantum majoribus eorum debitum esse videatur, unde etiam, quod posteris solveretur, redundaret. De Leg. Agr. ad Popul. n. 1.

[*n*] Senec. de Benef. lib. 4. cap. 30.

[*o*] Omnes boni semper nobilitati favemus, & quia utile est reipublicæ nobiles homines esse dignos majoribus suis, & quia valet apud nos clarorum hominum, & bene de republicâ meritorum, memoria etiam mortuorum: Cic. pro Sext. n. 21.

requires,

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requires, that we should pay this tribute of honour and regard to their descendants, as it is an engagement to them to support and perpetuate the reputation of their ancestors in their family, by endeavouring to perpetuate also the same virtues, which have rendered their predecessors so illustrious.

But to make this honour, which is paid to nobility, a real homage, it must be voluntary, and proceed from the heart. The moment it is claimed as a debt, or forcibly demanded, the right to it is lost, and it changes into hatred and contempt. People are too well pleased with themselves not to be offended at the haughtiness of a man, who thinks every thing is due to him because he is well born, and looks down from the height of his rank with contempt upon the rest of mankind. For what mighty glory is it in reality to reckon up a long series of ancestors, illustrious by their virtues, without bearing any resemblance to them? Is the merit of others transferred upon us? [p] Or will a large collection of family pictures, hung round a hall, make a man considerable? If the honour of families consists in being able to trace back their pedigree to distant ages, till they lose themselves in the darkness of an obscure and unknown antiquity, [q] we are all equally noble in this respect; for we had all an original equally ancient.

* We must therefore return to the only source of true nobility, which is virtue and merit. [r] Nobles have been seen to dishonour their name by low and abject vices, and persons of mean extraction have advanced and ennobled their families by great qualities. It is honourable to support the glory of one's ancestors, by actions which correspond with their reputation; and it is also glorious to leave a title to one's descendants, which is not borrowed from our predecessors; to become the head and author of our own nobility;

[p] Non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus. . . Animus facit nobilem. Senec. Ep. 44.

[q] Eadem omnibus principia, eademque origo. Nemo altero nobilior, nisi cui rectius ingenium, & artibus bonis aptius. Senec. lib. 3. de Benef. cap. 28.

* Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus. Juv. l. 3. sat. 8.

[r] Senec. Controv. 6. l. 1.

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and, to use the expression of Tiberus, who was desirous of hiding the defect of birth in Curtius Rufus, though otherwise a very great man, [*s*] *to be born of one's own self.*

"I cannot," said formerly an illustrious Roman, who was reproached by the nobility for his low extraction, "publicly produce the statues of my an-"cestors, their triumphs, nor their consulships; but "if need be, I can produce the military rewards I "have been honoured with; I can shew the wounds "I have received in fighting for my country. [*t*] "These are my statues, these my title to nobility, "which I have not borrowed from my ancestors, but "acquired by the labours and dangers I have un-"dergone."

[*u*] There was at Rome, in the beginning of the republic, a kind of open war between the nobility and the people. The nobles at first thought themselves dishonoured by marrying into a plebeian family. They looked upon themselves as another species of men. It seemed as if they could not bear that the populace should breathe the same air with them, or enjoy the same benefit of the sun's light. And they had set such a barrier between the people and honours, that merit was scarce able afterwards to break through it. There always remained something of this opposition and antipathy between the two orders; and Sallust observes, speaking of Metellus, that his excellent qualities were sullied and tarnished by an air of haughtiness and contempt; a fault, says he, which is but too usual among the nobility. [*c*] *Cui quanquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus & superbia, commune nobilitatis malum.*

We should therefore consider, that the nobility arising from birth, is by far inferior to that which proceeds from merit; and to be convinced of it we

[*s*] Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus. Tacit. Ann. l. 11.

[*t*] Hæc sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ ego plurimis meis laboribus & periculis quæsivi. Sallust. in Bell. Jugurth.

[*u*] Liv. l. 4. n. 3.

[*x*] Sallust. in Bell. Jugurth.

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need only compare them together. [y] Pope Clement VIII. made a promotion of several cardinals, and among the rest he advanced two Frenchmen, M. d'Ossat, and the count de la Chapelle, who afterwards took the name of cardinal de Sourdis, from the estate of his family; the former, a man *in whom the pope found nothing wanting but a descent from a better family*, he was so well supplied with every other qualification; and the other a person that had nothing but his family to recommend him. Which of these two would one chuse to resemble most?

[z] Cardinal Granville, speaking of cardinal Ximenes, was wont to say, *That time had oft concealed the original of great men under the veils of oblivion; that he (for instance) was doubtless sprung from royal blood, or at least he had the heart of a king in the person of a private man.*

But if it shews a greatness of soul to overlook our own nobility, and not suffer it to gain the ascendant over our actions; we may likewise observe that it is no less great in such as have raised themselves by merit, not to forget the meanness of their extraction, nor to be ashamed of it.

[a] Vespasian did not only not seek to hide it, but would often glory in it; and publicly made a jest of those, who by a false genealogy, would have derived his pedigree from Hercules.

[b] The same emperor, without being ashamed of an object which continually renewed the remembrance of his original, went constantly every year, even after he came to the empire, to pass his summer in a small country-house near Rieti, where he was born, and to which he would never make any addition or embellishment. [c] His son Titus caused himself to be carried thither in his last illness, that he might die in the place where his father had begun and ended his

[y] Vie du Card. d'Ossat, par M. Amelot.
[z] Hist. de Ximen, par M. Flechier, liv. 6.
[a] Suet. in Vit. Vesp. c. 12.
[b] Ibid. c. 2.
[c] Suet. Vit. Tit. c. 11.

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days. [d] Pertinax, the greatest man of his age, and soon after advanced to the empire, during the three years he tarried in Liguria, lodged in his father's house; and raising a great number of fine buildings around it, he left the [e] cottage in the midst, an illustrious monument of his low birth, and his greatness of soul. One would think that these princes affected to recal the memory of their former condition, so much the greatness of their personal merit (sensible it could sustain itself) was above any outward support. In short, we do not see throughout the whole Roman empire, that any body ever reproached them with the obscurity of their original, or abated one title of the veneration due to their virtues upon this account.

[f] Pope Benedict XII. was the son of a miller, whence he came to be called the *White Cardinal*. He never forgot his former condition; and when he was upon marrying his neice, he refused to give her to the great lords who sued for her, and married her to a tradesman. He said the popes should be like Melchizedek, without relations; and often used these words of the prophet, [g] *If they that belong to me get not dominion, I shall be undefiled, and innocent from the great offence.*

[h] John de [i] Brogni, cardinal de Viviers, who presided at the council of Constance as dean of the cardinals, had been a hog-driver in his infancy. Some monks passing by as he was busied in that sorry employment, and taking notice of his wit and vivacity, offered to carry him to Rome, and bring him up to study. The boy accepted of their offer, and went straight to a shoemaker to buy a pair of shoes for his journey; the shoemaker trusted him with part of the price, and told him smiling, he should pay the rest when he was made a cardinal. He became a cardinal in reality, and was not only not unmindful of his for-

[d] Capitolin. Vit. Pert.
[e] Tabernam.
[f] Dict. de Moreri.
[g] Ps. xix. 13.
[h] Hist. du Conc. de Constance, par J. l'Infant.
[i] Brogni is a village near Anneci, between Chamberi and Geneva.

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mer low condition, but took care to perpetuate the memory of it. In a chapel he built at [k] Geneva, over-against the gate of St. Peter's church, he caused this adventure to be carved in stone, where he is represented young and without shoes, keeping hogs under a tree; and all around the wall are the figures of shoes, to express the favour he had received from the shoemaker. This monument is still subsisting at Geneva.

Talents of the Mind.

How splendid soever the glory of arms and birth may appear, there is still something which more nearly concerns us, which we derive from learning and the Talents of the Mind. This seems to be more immediately our own, and entirely peculiar to us. It is not limited like that of arms to certain times and occasions, nor depends upon a thousand foreign assistances. It gives a man a superiority far more agreeable than that which proceeds from riches, birth, or employments, as these are all external; whereas the mind is properly our own, or rather is ourselves, and constitutes our very essence.

Yet it is not the mind alone in which the solid Glory of man consists. Suppose him excellent in himself, and adorned with the knowledge of every thing that is most curious and exquisite in the sciences, philosophy, mathematics, history, the *belles lettres*, poetry and eloquence. All these make a man learned, but do not make him good. [l] *Non faciunt bonos ista, sed doctos.* And if a man be only learned, what is he very often but a vain, obstinate creature, full of himself, and despising all others, and in one word, an *animal of glory?* For thus Tertullian describes the most learned among the heathen, *animal gloriæ.*

Can any thing be more pitiful, or more contemptible, than such a man, vainly puffed up with the no-

[k] He was for some time bishop of that see.

[l] Senec. Ep. 106.

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tion of his own learning and abilities, greedy and insatiable after praise, feeding upon wind and smoke, and striving only to live in the opinion of others? [m] Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, beautifully exposed the ridicule of this character in a physician named Menecrates, who had the vanity to take upon himself the surname of *Jupiter Servator*, on account of some extraordinary cures he had wrought, which he attributed wholly to his own skill. Having invited him to dinner, he was placed at table by himself, on which was served up a vessel smoaking with incense. The doctor at first thought himself highly honoured, but having nothing to eat during the rest of the entertainment, he soon perceived the meaning of the smoke of the incense; and thus serving for a laughing-stock to the rest of the company, he went away hungry from the feast with the title of Jupiter, and the shame he had so justly deserved, in ascribing to his own abilities a success derived from heaven.

The honour, therefore, which science and genius confer, does not result merely from learning, and the Talents of the Mind, but the good use made of them; and we may truly say, that modesty exalts their lustre and value infinitely more than any thing else. It is a pleasure to see great men sometimes owning themselves in the wrong, as the famous [n] Hippocrates has done in relation to one of the sutures of the skull, about which he had been led into a mistake. Such a confession, [o] as Celsus observes, referring to the passage I am speaking of, argues an uncommon fund of merit in the person that makes it, and an elevation of soul which is very sensible that such slips are not capable of being any prejudice to it; whereas a little mind, which cannot disguise its poverty, is care-

[m] Ælian. l. 12. c. 51. Athen. l. 7. c. 10.

[n] Lib. ἐπιδημιῶν 1.

[o] De suturis se deceptum esse Hippocrates memoriæ prodidit, more magnorum virorum, & fiduciam magnarum rerum habentium. Nam levia ingenia, quia nihil habent, nihil sibi detrahunt. Magno ingenio, multaque nihilominus habituro, convenit etiam veri erroris simplex confessio. Cels. l. 8. c. 4.

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ful to run no risque, nor willingly to lose the smallest share of the little it possesses.

It is a pleasure also to see learned men disputing without bitterness, anger, or passion, as Tully tells us, he was disposed to do: [p] *Nos & refellere sine pertinaciâ, & refelli sine iracundiâ, parati sumus.* Our age has furnished us with several instances of this virtue; but had we no other than F. Mabillon, he would do infinite honour to literature. In his disputes with the famous abbé de la Trape, his mildness and moderation, as we all know, gave him a great advantage over his adversary. There was another, who was able to dispute with him as well in point of modesty as learning; this was F. Papebrochius, who gave occasion to his writing his book *de re diplomaticâ.*

"I own," says this learned jesuit, in a Latin letter he wrote to F. Mabillon upon this subject, which he gave him leave to publish, "that I have no other satisfac-
"tion in having written upon this matter, than that
"of having given you an opportunity of drawing up
"so accurate a performance. It is true at first I found
"some uneasiness, upon reading your book, to see
"myself confuted in such a manner, as I knew not
"how to answer; but the usefulness and beauty of
"so valuable a work soon conquered my weakness;
"and overjoyed to see the truth set in so clear a light,
"I invited my companion in study to share with me
"in my admiration. For which reason, make no
"scruple, as often as you have opportunity, to de-
"clare publicly, that I am wholly of your opinion."

There is an artificial and studied modesty, which covers a secret pride; but here we have an ingenuous simplicity, which shews plainly it came from the heart. I cannot finish what I have to say upon F. Mabillon, without taking notice that the late archbishop of Rheims (le Tellier) presenting him to king Lewis XIV. said to him thus, *Sir, I have the honour to present to your majesty, the most learned and most modest monk in your kingdom.*

[p] Acad. Quæst. l. 2. n. 5.

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Another character still, which is very amiable in a man of learning, is to be always ready to let others share in his labours, to communicate his remarks to them, to assist them with his reflections, and to contribute to the utmost of his power to the perfection of their works. I question whether any one ever carried this point farther than M. de Tillemont. His collections and extracts, which were the fruit of many years labour, became the property of every one that had occasion for them. He was never afraid, as is too usual amongst men of learning, that his works should lose the merit of invention, or the grace of novelty, by being shewn to others before they were published. And the same praise is due to [q] M. d'Herouval. Though a contempt of glory and vain reputation prevented him from publishing any thing himself, yet his zeal for the public good gave him a share in almost all the works that were sent abroad in his time, by his communicating to the authors his discoveries, his observations, and his manuscripts.

Reputation.

This is looked upon as the dearest and most valuable treasure belonging to mankind, even by persons of the greatest probity; and an indifference concerning it, and much more the despising it, seem absolutely not to be admitted. [r] What can be expected indeed from one that is unconcerned about the judgment which the rest of the world, and especially men of honesty, shall pass upon his conduct? It is not only, as Tully observes, the sign of unsupportable pride and conceitedness, but the mark of having perfectly abandoned all modesty.

And yet to be over-solicitous after praise, to be greedy of it, and eager in pursuing it, and to seem in some measure to beg it, instead of being the character

[q] Ant. de Vion, auditeur des comptes.

[r] Adhibenda est quædam reverentia & optimi cujusque, & reliquorum. Nam negligere quid de se quisque sentiat, non solùm arrogantis est, sed etiam omnino dissoluti. Offic. l. 1 n. 99.

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of a great soul, is the most certain sign of a vain and light disposition, which feeds upon wind, and takes the shadow for the substance.

Yet this is the weakness of the most part of mankind, and sometimes even of such as are distinguished by peculiar merit, which induces them often to seek for glory where it is not to be found.

[*s*] Philip of Macedon was not the most scrupulous in his choice of the means, which were to procure him a solid Reputation. He was fond of every kind of glory, and on every kind of occasion. He was, as an orator, vain of his eloquence. He reckoned upon the victories his chariots had gained in the Olympic games, and took great care to have them engraved on his coins. He gave lessons in music, and undertook to correct the masters of it; which occasioned one of them to make that ingenious answer, which, without offence, was very capable of shewing him his error: *God forbid, Sir, you should ever be so unhappy as to know these matters better than I do.* He himself gave a like lesson to his son for having shewn too much skill in music at an entertainment; *Are you not ashamed* says he to him, *that you can sing so well?* In short, there are certain branches of knowledge, which are very commendable in private persons, whose only business is to follow them, that a prince ought but slightly to be acquainted with, as it would be beneath his dignity to affect a greater skill in them, and as his time ought to be taken up in matters of greater weight and importance. [*t*] Nero, who did not want for wit and spirit, was blamed for neglecting the occupations proper to his station, and amusing himself with engraving, painting, singing, and driving of chariots. A prince, who has a taste of true glory, does not aspire to such a Reputation. He understands what it is deserves his application, and from what he should abstain; and how great an inclination soever he may

[*s*] Plut. in Vit. Alex.

[*t*] Nero puerilibus statim annis vividum animum in alia detorsit; cælare, & pingere, cantus, aut regimen equorum exercere. Tacit. Annal. l. 13. c. 3.

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have for the sciences, even the most valuable, he does not give himself up entirely to them, but studies them like a prince, with that sober and discreet moderation, which [u] Tacitus admired in his father-in-law Agricola, *Retinuit, quod est difficillimum, et sapientiâ modum.*

[x] Tully finds a pitiful vanity in the secret joy which Demosthenes felt upon hearing himself praised by a poor herb-woman, as he was passing by. And yet he himself was much fonder of commendation than the Greek orator.

[y] This he freely owns upon an occasion where he surprisingly describes the effects of human weakness. He was returning from Sicily, where he had been quæstor, with a strong imagination that nothing was talked of in Italy but himself, and that his quæstorship was the subject of every tongue. Passing by Puzzoli, whither the baths had drawn abundance of company, Is it long, says somebody to him, since you left Rome? Pray, what is doing there? I, says he, in great surprise, am just come from my province. That's true, says the other, I beg pardon, from Africa. No, answers Tully, with an air of scorn and indignation, from Sicily. Why, says a third, who pretended to know more than the rest, don't you know that he has been quæstor at Syracuse? where indeed he had not, for his province lay in a different part of the island. Tully was quite out of countenance, and to get rid of the affair, threw himself into the crowd, and so marched off: and this adventure, he adds, was more useful to him, than all the compliments he had expected could have been.

And yet it does not appear, that he was less fond of praise afterwards, than he had been before. All the world knows how carefully he laid hold of every opportunity to talk of himself, so as to become insupportable. But nothing lets us more into his character than his [z] letter to the historian Lucceius, in which he openly and ingenuously discovers his weakness in

[u] Vit. Agric. c. 4.
[x] Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. n. 103.
[y] Cic. Orat. pro Planc. n. 64, 66.
[z] Ep. 12. lib. 5.

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this particular. He pressed him to write the history of his consulship, and publish it in his life-time; to the end, said he, that I may be the better known, and personally enjoy my glory and reputation, *ut & cæteri viventibus nobis ex libris tuis nos cognoscant, & nosmetipsi vivi gloriolâ nostrâ perfruamur.* He importunes him not to keep scrupulously to the strict laws of history, but to make some allowances to friendship, even at the expence of truth, and not be afraid of speaking more to his advantage than perhaps he thought was due. *Itaque te planè etiam atque etiam rogo, ut & ornes ea vehementiùs etiam quàm fortasse sentis, & in eo leges historiæ negligas . . . amorique nostro plusculum etiam, quam concedit veritas, largiaris.*

Such are almost all mankind, and often without perceiving it themselves. For, to hear Tully talk, he was as remote as possible from any such weakness. [*a*] *Nihil est in me inane,* says he to Brutus, *neque enim debet.* No body, [*b*] says he again in a letter to Cato, was ever less fond of commendation and the vain applauses of the people, than I am. *Si quisquam fuit unquam remotus, & naturâ, & magis etiam (ut mihi quidem sentire videor) ratione atque doctrinâ, ab inani laude & sermonibus vulgi, ego profectò is sum.*

To comprehend the better how little and mean this vanity is, we need but open our eyes, and consider how great and noble is the opposite conduct. A few choice articles, which I shall here propose, will set the matter in a clear light.

I. TO BEAR PRAISE WITH PAIN, AND TO SPEAK OF ONE'S SELF WITH MODESTY.

This virtue, which seems to throw a veil over the most glorious actions, and is careful only to conceal them, serves to set them off the more, and give them a greater lustre.

Niger, who took the title of emperor in the east, refused the panegyric they would have spoke in his

[*a*] Ad Brut. ep. 3. [*b*] Ep. 4. lib. 15. ad Famil.

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praise, and made himself the more deserving of it by his motives for refusing it. Make, says he, a panegyric upon the commanders of old, that what they have done may teach us what we should do. For it is a jest to speak in praise of a man that is alive, and especially a prince; it is not to commend him for doing well, but to flatter him in hopes of a reward. For my own part, I should chuse to be beloved whilst I live, and praised when I am dead.

" Those, [c] (says M. Nicole in his moral essays) " who have heard the two greatest officers of this age " (M. le Prince, and M. de Turenne) talk of the war, " have always been ravished with the modesty of their " discourse. No body ever observed the least word " to fall from them upon this subject, which could be " suspected of vanity. They have been ever seen to " do justice to all the world besides, and never to " themselves; and one would often imagine, when " they heard them give an account of battles, in which " their valour and conduct had the greatest share, " either that they had not been present, or that they " had been only idle spectators. Those persons, " whom we see so full of occasions wherein they " have signalized themselves, as to deafen all the " world with their accounts of them, as in the case " of Cicero's consulship, do thereby shew, that vir- " tue is scarce natural to them, and that they have " been obliged to take a great deal of pains to work " up their souls to the condition they are so glad to " appear in. But there is far more greatness in mak- " ing no reflection upon our greatest actions, so that " they may seem to fall from us with no constraint, " and spring so naturally from the disposition of our " souls, that it does not observe them."

II. HEARTILY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE REPUTATION OF OTHERS.

[d] Scipio Africanus, that he might procure his brother the command in the important war which was

[c] Second Traité de la Charité & de l'Amour propre, ch. 5.

[d] Liv. l. 37.

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to be made against Antiochus the great, engaged to serve under him, as one of his lieutenants. In this subaltern post, he was so far from endeavouring to divide the honour of the victory with his brother, that he made it both a duty and a pleasure to leave the glory of it entirely to him, and to make him his equal in every respect, by the defeat of an enemy no less formidable than Hannibal; and by the title of Asiaticus, as glorious as that of Africanus.

[e] M. Aurelius, from a like delicacy, and as generous a disregard of glory, denied himself the pleasure of attending upon his daughter Lucilla into the east, whom he married to Lucius Verus, at that time engaged in the war with Parthia, lest his presence should check the growing reputation of his son-in-law, and seem to draw upon himself the honour of putting an end to that important war to the other's prejudice.

We know with what fidelity and submission [f] Cyrus referred all the glory of his exploits to his uncle and father-in-law Cyaxeres; with what carefulness [g] Agricola, who completed the conquest of Britain, honoured his superiors with all his successes; and with what modesty he gave up part of his own reputation to advance theirs.

[h] Plutarch gives an account of the moderation of his conduct in the discharge of the commisson he was entrusted with by his own city, who had sent him as their deputy to the proconsul of the province. His colleague being obliged to stay behind by the way, he discharged the commission alone, and succeeded in it. At his return, when upon the point of giving a public account of his deputation, his father advised him not to speak of himself in his own name as single, but as though his colleague had been present, and they had concerted and executed the whole together. And his motive for giving him this wise advice was, because

[e] Vit. M. Aurel.
[f] Xenoph. in Cyrop.
[g] Tacit. in Vit. Agric.
[h] Plut. in Præc. Reip. Ger.

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[i] such a procedure was not only equitable and humane, but would lessen the glory of the success, which usually afflicts and enflames envy.

[k] What Tully says of the perfect union which subsisted betwixt him and Hortensius, and the mutual care they took to assist one another at the bar, to communicate reciprocally what they knew, and to promote each other's credit, is a very rare example in persons of the same profession, and at the same time very worthy of imitation. [l] An historian observes, that Atticus their common friend was the band of this intimate union; and it was by his means that the emulation of glory, in these two famous orators, was not impaired by any mean sentiments of envy and jealousy.

[m] Lelius, the intimate friend of the second Scipio, had twice pleaded in a very important cause, and the judges had twice ordered a more ample enquiry. The parties exhorting him not to be discouraged, he persuaded them to put their affair into the hands of Galba, who was a fitter person than he to plead for them, as he spoke with more force and vehemence. In short, Galba, at a single hearing, carried all the voices, and absolutely gained his cause. Such a disinterested disposition in point of reputation must be owned to have something very great in it. But, says Cicero, it was then customary to do justice to another's merit without scruple. *Erat omnino tum mos, ut faciles essent in suum cuique tribuendo.*

I have always admired the ingenuity and candour of Virgil, who was under no apprehension, by introducing Horace to Mæcenas, of raising himself a rival, that might contend with him for wit and genius; and if not entirely carry away, at least divide with him the favours and good graces of their common protec-

[i] Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπιεικὲς τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ φιλάνθρωπόν ἐςιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λυπεῖν τὸν φθόνον ἀφαιρεῖ τῆς δόξης.

[k] Semper alter ab altero adjutus, & communicando, & monendo, & favendo. Brut. n. 3.

[l] Efficiebat, ut inter quos tanta laudis esset æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtrectatio, essetque talium virorum copula. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Attic. cap. 5.

[m] De Clar. Orat. n. 85—88.

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tor. But, says Horace, we do not live thus at Mæcenas's. Never was house more removed from such mean sentiments than his, nor a purer and more noble manner of living any where practised. The merit and credit of one never gives offence to another. Every one has his place, and is content with it.

Non isto vivimus illic,
Quo tu rere, modo. Domus hâc nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mi officit unquam,
Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior. Est locus uni
Cuique suus [n].

III. TO SACRIFICE HIS OWN REPUTATION FOR THE GOOD OF THE PUBLIC.

[o] There are some occasions, in which an honest man is obliged to sacrifice his reputation to preserve his virtue; to give up his glory for a time, that he may not part with his conscience, and march with a firm resolution where duty calls him amidst reproach and infamy, by courageously despising the contempt thrown upon him. Nothing is a greater sign of a steady adherence to virtue, than a sacrifice so generous, and at the same time so repugnant to human nature.

[p] Plutarch observes that Pericles, at a time when all the citizens were crying out against him, and blaming his conduct, like an able pilot, who in a storm regards only the rules of his art for saving the ship, and overlooks the cries, lamentations and prayers of all around him; that Pericles, I say, after having taken all possible precaution for the security of the state, pursued his own scheme, without troubling himself about the murmurs, complainings, threats, injurious bal-

[n] Horat. Sat. 6. lib. 1.

[o] Æquissimo animo ad honestum consilium per mediam infamiam tendam. Nemo mihi videtur pluris æstimare virtutem, nemo illi magis esse devotus, quàm qui boni viri famam perdidit, ne conscientiam perderet. Senec. Ep. 81.

Æquo animo audienda sunt imperitorum convicia, & ad honesta vadenti contemnendus est iste contemptus. Id. Ep. 76.

[p] In Vit. Pericl.

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lads, railleries, insults, and accusations thrown out against him.

[q] It was a good piece of advice the wise Fabius gave to the consul Paulus Æmilius, as he was setting out for the army. He exhorted him to despise the railleries and unjust reproaches of his colleague, to be above any reports that might be raised to his prejudice, and disregard all the pains that might be taken to disgrace or dishonour him.

Fabius himself acted in the same manner in the war against Hannibal, and saved the commonwealth. Notwithstanding the great insult he received from Minucius, he rescued him from the hands of Hannibal, [r] setting aside his resentment, and consulting only his zeal for the public good.

These examples are well known, but are scarce followed by any body in these days. Men are not attached to the state by any real ties; they often serve the public out of a view to their private interest. Upon the least disgust they quit the service; and this disgust is often founded upon a false notion of honour, which takes offence at a very just preference. There are few who talk and think like the Lacedæmonian, that seeing himself left out of the new-erected council, said, he was overjoyed to find there were three hundred better men in the city than himself.

IV. WHEREIN SOLID GLORY AND REAL GREATNESS CONSIST.

Whatever is external to a man, whatever may be common to good or bad, does not make him truly estimable. We must judge of men by the heart. From thence proceed great designs, great actions, great virtues. Solid Glory, which cannot be imitated by pride, nor equalled by pomp, resides in personal qualifica-

[q] Liv. lib. 22. n. 74.

[r] Habuit in consilio fortunam publicam, dolorem ultionemque seposuit. Senec. lib. 1. de Ira, cap. 11.

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tions and noble sentiments. To be good, liberal, beneficent, and generous; to value riches only for the sake of distributing them, places of honour for the service of our country, power and credit to be in a condition to suppress vice, and reward virtue; to be really good without seeking to appear so; to bear poverty nobly, to suffer injuries and affronts with patience, to stifle resentment, and to do every good office to an enemy when we have it in our power to be revenged of him; to prefer the public good to every thing, to sacrifice our wealth, repose, life, and fame, if necessary to it; these make a man truly great and estimable.

Take away probity from the most shining actions, the most valuable qualities, and what are they but objects of contempt? Are the drunkenness of Alexander, the murder of his best friends, his insatiable thirst of praise and flattery, and his vanity in desiring to pass for the son of Jupiter, [s] though he did not believe it himself; are these consistent with the character of a great prince. When we see Marius, and after him Sylla, shedding torrents of Roman blood for the establishment of their own power, what regard can we pay their victories and triumphs?

On the other hand, when we hear the emperor Titus utter that celebrated expression [t] *My friends, I have lost a day*, because he had done good to nobody; [u] and another, upon being pressed to sign a warrant for execution, saying *I wish I could not write*; or the emperor Theodosius, after having set the prisoners at liberty on an Easter-day, *Would to God I could also open the graves, and give life to the dead.* When we see a young Scipio courageously surmounting a passion, which subdues almost all mankind; and upon another occasion giving lectures of continence and wisdom to a young prince, who had swerved from

[s] Omnes, inquit Alexander, jurant me Jovis esse filium; sed vulnus hoc hominem me esse clamat. Senec. Ep. 59.

[t] Amici, diem perdidi. Suet in Vit. Tit. n. 8.

[u] Vellem nescire literas. Senec. l. 2. de Clem.

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his duty; when we see a tribune of the people, a declared enemy of this Scipio's, loudly to take upon him his defence against the unjust accusers, who had conspired his destruction; [x] and lastly, when we read in history any actions of liberality, generosity, disinterestedness, clemency, or forgetfulness of injuries, is it in our power to deny them our esteem and admiration, and do we not still find ourselves affected after so many ages with the bare recital of them?

Our history supplies us with abundance of beautiful expressions and actions of our kings, and many other great men, which shew us plainly wherein true Grandeur and solid Glory consist.

If sincerity and truth were banished the rest of the earth, [y] said John I. king of France, when solicited to break a treaty, *they ought to be found in the heart and mouth of kings.*

It belongs not, [z] says Lewis XII. to a courtier, who pressed him to punish a person that offended him before he came to the throne, *it belongs not to the king of France to revenge the injuries done to the duke of Orleans.*

[a] Francis I. after the battle of Pavia, wrote a letter to the regent his mother in these few words, *Madam, all is lost but our honour.* This was to think and write like a king indeed, who in comparison of his honour makes light of every thing beside.

[b] And when shameful conditions were demanded of him for his liberty, he ordered the emperor's agent to let his master know, that he was resolved rather to spend all his days in prison, than dismember his dominions; and to add, that though he should be so base as to do it, he was sure his subjects would never consent to it.

[x] Quis est tam dissimilis homini, qui non moveatur & offensione turpitudinis, & comprobatione honestatis? . . . An obliviscamur quantopere in audiendo legendoque moveamur, cùm piè, cùm amicè, cùm magno animo aliquid factum cognoscimus? Cic. l. 5. de fin. n. 62.

[y] Mezerai.

[z] Ibid.

[a] P. Daniel.

[b] Ibid.

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[c] Instead of bearing ill-will to Francis de Montelon, who was the only lawyer of his time that ventured to plead in favour of Charles de Bourbon against Francis I. and Louisa of Savoy his mother, he valued him the more for it, made him attorney-general, then president au Mortier, and at last keeper of the seals.

[d] As Henry IV. was reproached with the little power he had in Rochelle, *I do*, says he, *in that town whatever I please, by doing only what I ought.*

Our magistrates, upon several occasions, have given proof of what [e] Tully says in his offices, that there is a domestic and private courage of no less value than military valour. [f] Achilles de Harlai, premier president, being threatened by the seditious with an immediate capital punishment, (these are the authors terms) *I have neither head nor life*, says he, *which I prefer to the love of God, the service of my king, and the good of my country.* On the day of the barricade, he gave no other answer to the injurious threatnings of the authors of the league, than these commendable words; *My soul is God's, my heart the king's, and my body in the hands of violent men to do with it what they please.* [g] When Bussy le Clerc had the boldness to enter the grand-chamber, and read the list of those he said he had orders to arrest, and named the premier president and ten or twelve more, all the rest of the company rose up, and generously followed them to the Bastile.

It is well known that the premier president Molé, in a popular insurrection, without any dread of losing his life, went and shewed himself to the populace, and put a stop to the mutiny by his single presence.

It is of him that cardinal de Retz writes thus in his memoirs, "If it were not a kind of blasphemy to say "there is one in our age more intrepid than the great "Gustavus, and M. le Prince, I would say it was the "premier president Molé."

[c] Ste Marthe liv. 5. de ses Eloges.
[d] Hist. d'Aubigné.
[e] Sunt domesticæ fortitudines, non inferiores militaribus, Offic. l. 1. n. 18.
[f] Histoire des Prem. Pres.
[g] Mezerai.

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This resolution is the less astonishing in the magistrates of a parliament, whose peculiar character is an inviolable fidelity to their kings, and an invincible courage in the greatest dangers. But can we sufficiently admire the extraordinary generosity, which inspired the townsmen of Calais with love to their country, and a view to the public good! The town reduced by famine to the last extremity, offered to capitulate. The king of England, [h] provoked at their holding out so long, refused them quarter, except upon this sole condition: "That six of the principal townsmen, with their heads uncovered, their feet bare, and halters about their necks, should bring him the keys of the town and castle in their hands; that upon these he would execute his pleasure, and receive the rest to mercy." When they had assembled the town, one of the chiefest townsmen, named Eustace de St. Pierre, began to speak; and he spoke with a courage and resolution, which would have done honour to the ancient Roman citizens in the days of the republic; he said, that he offered himself to be the first victim for the safety of the rest of the people, and that rather than see his fellow-countrymen perish by hunger and the sword, he would be one of the six that should be given up to the king of England's vengeance. Five others, encouraged by his discourse and example, offered themselves with him. They were conducted in the equipage prescribed, amidst the confused cries and lamentations of the people. The king of England was inclined to execute them; but the queen, touched with compassion, and breaking out into tears, threw herself at his majesty's feet, and obtained their pardon.

When the great Condé commanded the Spanish army in Flanders, and laid siege to one of our towns, a soldier being ill treated by a general officer and struck several times with a cane for some disrespect-

[h] P. Daniel.

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ful words he had let fall, answered very coolly, that he should soon make him repent of it. Fifteen days after, the same general officer ordered the colonel of the trenches to find him out a bold and intrepid fellow in his regiment for a notable piece of work he wanted to be done, for which he promised a reward of a hundred pistoles. The soldier we are speaking of, who passed for the bravest of the regiment, offered his service, and taking with him thirty of his comrades, of whom the choice was left to himself, discharged his commission, [*i*] which was a very hazardous one, with incredible courage and success. Upon his return, the general officer highly commended him, and gave him the hundred pistoles he had promised. The soldier presently distributed them among his comrades, saying, he did not serve for pay, and demanded only that if his late action seemed to deserve any recompence, they would make him an officer. *And, now Sir*, adds he to the general officer, who did not know him, *I am the soldier you so much abused fifteen days ago, and I told you, I would make you repent of it.* The general officer in great admiration, and melting into tears, threw his arms around his neck, begged his pardon, and gave him a commission that very day. The great Condé took a pleasure in telling this story, as the bravest action in a soldier he had ever heard of. I had it from a person to whom M. le Prince, the great Condé's son, has often told it.

The same cannon-ball that killed M. Turenne, carried off an arm from M. St. Hilaire, lieutenant general of the artillery. His son breaking out into tears and lamentations, *Hold your tongue, child*, says he to him, and pointing to M. de Turenne, as he lay dead, *there's a proper subject for your tears.*

[*i*] The business was to know, before they made a lodgment, whether the enemy were undermining the glacis. The soldier, as soon as it was night, throwing himself into the covered way, discharged his commission so well, that he brought off the hat and instruments of one of the miners whom he had killed in the mine.

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[*k*] I have already spoke of the famous Henry de Mesmes, one of the most illustrious magistrates of his time. The king, (Henry II. if I am not mistaken) having offered him the place of advocate-general, he took the liberty to represent to his majesty, that the place was not vacant. It is, answered the king, because I am dissatisfied with the person that fills it. *Excuse me, Sir,* answered Henry de Mesmes, after having modestly spoken in defence of the person accused, *I had rather tear up the ground with my nails, than enter into that post through such a gate.* The king gave ear to his remonstrance, and continued the advocate-general in his place; who coming the next day to thank him for the services he had done him, Henry de Mesmes would scarce accept of his acknowledgments for doing what he said was an indispensible duty, and which he could not have omitted without disgracing himself for ever.

A president à Mortier [*l*] had thoughts of quitting his post, in hopes of procuring it for his son. Lewis XIV. who had promised M. Peletier, then comptroller-general, to give him the first that fell, offered him this. M. Peletier, after making his most humble acknowledgments, added, that the president who had quitted, had a son, and his majesty had ever been well satisfied with the family. "I am not used to "be answered thus," replies the king, in surprise at his conduct and generosity; "well, you shall have the "next then." Nor did he wait long for it; for within two years after, M. le president le Coignieux dying without a son, so noble a disinterestedness was rewarded.

And here I must ask, when we read of such actions, can we possibly resist the impression they make upon our hearts. It is this voice and [*m*] testimony of an upright, staunch, and pure nature, not yet cor-

[*k*] *Memoires Manuscrits*, quoted already in the first volume.

[*l*] Cl. Peleterii Vita.

[*m*] Quæ disciplina eò pertinebat, ut sincera & integra, & nullis pravitatibus detorta uniuscujusque natura, toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas. Dialog. de Oratoribus, cap. 28.

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rupted by ill examples and bad principles, which should be the rule of our judgments, and is in a manner the basis of this Taste for solid Glory and real Greatness I am now speaking of. And it is our business to attend solely to this voice, consult it in all things, and conform to its dictates.

I know very well that something else is requisite, besides precepts and examples, to make a man thus superior to the strongest passions, and that God alone can inspire him with these sentiments of nobleness and grandeur, as the heathens themselves inform us. [n] *Bonus vir sine Deo nemo est. An potest aliquis supra fortunam, nisi ab illo adjutus, exurgere? Ille dat consilia magnifica & erecta.* [o] But we cannot too much inculcate these principles into youth; and it were to be wished they could never hear any other discourse, and that these precepts were continually sounded in their ears. [p] The principal fruit of history is to preserve and invigorate those sentiments of probity and integrity we bring into the world with us; or, if we have swerved from them, to draw us back by degrees, and re-kindle in us those precious sparks, by frequent examples of virtue. [q] A master well skilled in directing the genius, which is the principal province, will omit no opportunity of instilling into his scholars the principles of honour and equity, and of exciting in them a sincere love of virtue, and abhorrence of vice. [r] As they are of an age as yet tender and tractable, and corruption has not taken

[n] Senec. Ep. 41.

[o] Conducere arbitror talibus aures tuas vocibus undique circumsonare, nec eas, si fieri posset, quidquam aliud audire. Cic. lib. 3. Offic. n. 5.

[p] Omnium honestarum rerum semina animi gerunt, quæ admonitione excitantur: non aliter quàm scintilla flatu levi adjuta ignem suum explicat. Senec. Ep. 94.

Hæc est sapientia, in naturam converti, & eò restitui, unde publicus error expulerit. Ibid.

[q] Civitatis rectorem decet... verbis, & his mollioribus, curare ingenia, ut facienda suadeat, cupiditatemque honesti & æqui conciliet, animis, faciatque vitiorum odium, pretium virtutum. Sen. lib. 1. de Ira, cap. 5.

[r] Facillimè tenera conciliantur ingenia ad honesti rectique amorem. Adhuc docilibus, leviterque corruptis, injicit manum veritas, si advocatum idoneum nacta est. Senec. Ep. 108.

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deep root in them, the truth more easily finds entrance into their minds, and fixes itself there without difficulty, if ever so little assisted by the master's wise reflections, and seasonable counsels.

When, upon every point of history read to them, or at least upon the brightest and most important, they are asked what they think, what seems beautiful, great, and commendable, and on the contrary, what blamable and contemptible, it seldom happens but youth answer justly and rationally, and pass a sound and equitable judgment upon whatever is proposed to them. It is this answer, this judgment, which, as I have already said, is in them the voice of nature and right reason, and cannot be suspected because not suggested, that becomes in them the rule of a good taste with respect to solid Glory and true Greatness. When we see a Regulus exposing himself to the most cruel torments, rather than break his word; a Cyrus and Scipio making a public profession of continence and wisdom; all the ancient Romans, so illustrious, and so generally esteemed, leading a poor, frugal, and sober life; and on the other hand, see actions of treachery, debauchery, dissoluteness, low and sordid avarice, in great and considerable persons, they hesitate not a moment to pronounce in favour of the side they ought.

[s] Seneca, speaking of one of his masters, says, that when he heard him discourse of the advantages of poverty, chastity, sobriety, and a conscience pure and unblamable, he went away from his lectures, enamoured of virtue, and filled with horror for vice. And this is the effect history must produce, when well taught.

[s] Ego certè, cùm Attalum audirem, in vitia, in errores, in mala vitæ perorantem, sæpe misertus sum generis humani. . . Cùm verò commendare paupertatem cœperat. . . . sæpe exire è scholâ pauperi libuit. Cùm cœperat voluptates nostras traducere, laudare castum corpus, sobriam mensam, puram mentem, non tantum ab illicitis voluptatibus, sed etiam supervacuis, libebat circumscribere gulam & ventrem. Senec. Ep. 108.

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We must therefore be careful to make youth attentive to the excellent lessons even Paganism affords, [t] which sets no value upon whatever is external and adventitious, such as wealth, honours and magnificence; [u] and even in man esteems and admires only the qualities of the heart, that is to say, probity and virtue; [x] which are of so glorious a nature, that they honour, dignify, and exalt whatever approaches, or surrounds them, even poverty, misery, exile, imprisonment, and torture. It is virtue alone which fixes the price of every thing, and is the sole source of solid Glory and real Greatness. According to the principles of Paganism, [y] a prince is only so far great, as he is beneficent and liberal; nor should he think of his power, but with a view to do good, and in imitation of the gods, to place the title of *best* before that of *greatest*; JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS. He should prefer the tender name of [z] father of his country to all the pompous titles of the invincible, the triumpher, the thunderbolt of war, the conqueror, titles generally so fatal to mankind, and call to mind that he is the protector and father of his subjects, and that his most solid Glory, as well as his most essential duty, is to do his utmost to make them happy.

One would think, nothing could be added to these noble ideas, which the Pagans give us of human power and greatness, or to the examples of virtue, which I have quoted above in such great abundance.

[t] Quicquid est hoc quod circa nos ex adventitio fulget, honores, opus, ampla atria . . . alieni commodatique apparatus sunt. Senec. Consol. ad Marc. c. 10.

[u] Nec quicquam suum, nisi se, putet esse, eâ quoque parte quâ melior est. Senec. de Const. Sap. c. 6.

[x] Quicquid attigit virtus, in similitudinem sui adducit & tingit: actiones, amicitias, interdum domos totas, quas intravit disposuitque, condecorat: quicquid tractavit, id amabile, conspicuum, mirabile facit. Id. Ep. 60.

[y] Proximum diis locum tenet, qui se ex deorum naturâ gerit, beneficus, ac largus, & in melius potens. Hæc affectare, hæc imitari decet: maximum ita haberi, ut optimus simul habeare. Senec. l. 1. de Clem. c. 19.

[z] Cætera cognomina honori data sunt. . . Patrem quidem patriæ appellamus, ut sciret datam sibi potestatem patriam, quæ est temperatissima, liberis consulens, suaque post illos reponens. Senec. l. 1. de Clem. c. 14.

But

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But let us hear what a wise man says, who was brought up, not in the school of Plato or Socrates, but of Jesus Christ, I mean St. Augustine, who, after having drawn the character of a great prince, teaches us, by one circumstance that he adds to the descriptions of the ancients, wherein solid Glory consists, and how far Christianity surmounts the Pagan virtues, of which pride and vanity were the soul and principle.

"We do not call Christian princes great and happy," [a] says this father, speaking of the emperors, "for having reigned long, or for dying in peace, "and leaving their children behind them on the "throne; for having conquered the enemies of the "state, or suppressed sedition, advantages which are "common to them with such princes as are worshippers of devils. But we call them great and happy, "when they make justice to flourish, and amidst the "praises that are given them, and the homage paid "them, do not grow proud, but remember they are "men; when they submit their power to the sovereign power of the King of kings, and make it "subservient only to the advancement of true religion; when they fear God, love him and worship him; when they value not their kingdom in "comparison of him, with whom they have no rivals "nor enemies to apprehend; when they are slow to "punish, and swift to pardon; when they punish "only for the good of the state, and not the gratification of their personal revenge, and pardon only "from the hope of amendment, and not to grant "impunity to crimes; when, being obliged to use "severity, they temper it with some action of mildness and clemency; when they are the more reserved in their pleasures, from being the more at "liberty to indulge themselves in them; when they "rather chuse to command their passions, than to "govern all the nations of the world; AND WHEN

[a] S Aug. de Cirit. Dei, l. 5. c. 24.

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"THEY DO ALL THESE THINGS, NOT FROM VAIN "GLORY, BUT THE LOVE OF ETERNAL HAPPI- "NESS."

It was not in the power of Paganism to inspire such noble sentiments, and at the same time so pure from all self-love and vain glory. *Hæc omnia faciunt, non propter ardorem inanis gloriæ, sed propter caritatem felicitatis æternæ.* "All this they do, not through a "desire of vain glory, but of eternal life." Nothing but the school of Christ was capable of raising man to so high a degree of perfection, as to make him absolutely forget himself in the midst of the greatest actions, that he might refer them only to God, wherein his entire greatness and glory consists. For whilst a man centers every thing in himself, let him make what efforts he will to appear great, and exalt himself, he continues still what he is, that is, meanness and nothing, and can only become great and exalted, by uniting himself to Him, who is the sole source of all glory and greatness.

Hence arose that innumerable multitude of Christian heroes of every condition, sex, and age. The greatest, the most distinguished by the fortunes of the world have come to lay down at the foot of the cross, riches, grandeur, magnificence, dignities, science, eloquence, and fame, and counted all these sacrifices as nothing. S. Paulinus, the honour of France and glory of his age, whilst all the world stood in admiration at his generosity in distributing the immense riches he possessed in several provinces among the poor, thought he had yet done nothing, and compared himself to a wrestler preparing to engage, or a man that was ready to swim over a river, who had neither of them made any great progress, though they had stript off their clothes.

What shall I say of the multitude of illustrious ladies, who were some of them descended from the Scipios and the Gracchi, S. Paula, S. Olympias, S. Marcella, S. Melania, who in honour of the Gospel trod under foot the pomps and vanities of the world? What greatness of soul is there in that saying of Marcella's,

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cella's, when, after she had distributed all her goods to the poor, seeing Rome taken and pillaged by the Goths, she thanked God she had secured her wealth before, and that the loss of the city had found her poor, and not made her so! [b] *Quòd pauperem illam non fecisset captivitas, sed invenisset.*

No triumph ever equalled that which Christian humility gained in the person of S. Melania the grandmother, when she went to Nola, to visit S. Paulinus. We have an eloquent description of it given us by the saint himself. All her family, that is, the greatest and most eminent persons in Rome waited upon her, and resolved by way of honour to attend her in this journey with all the usual pomp belonging to persons of their quality. The Apian way was covered over with gilt and splendid coaches, with horses richly harnassed, and chariots of all kinds in abundance. In the midst of this pompous train marched a lady venerable for her age, and still more so for her grave and modest deportment, mounted on a little lean horse, and clothed in a garment of plain serge. All eyes however were turned and fixed upon the humble Melania. No body took any notice of the gold, the silk, and purple, which glittered around her; the coarse stuff extinguished all that vain splendor. There was seen in the children what the mother had quitted and trampled under foot, as a sacrifice to Jesus Christ.

The great lords and ladies, who made up this pompous retinue, instead of being ashamed of the vile and abject condition the holy widow appeared in, thought it an honour to draw near her, and touch her garments, thinking by this humble and respectful condescension to expiate the pride of their own riches and magnificence. Thus, upon this occasion the pomp of the Roman greatness paid homage to the poverty of the Gospel.

Some such passages as these, intermixed from time to time with select portions of profane history, may

[b] S. Hieron. l. 3. Ep. ad Principiam.

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serve to correct and amend whatever is amiss in them, supply what is wanting on the part of motive and intention, and give youth a perfect idea of true and solid Greatness. For, in laying before them the beautiful actions and laudable sentiments of the pagans, as we have done here, we must be careful from time to time to remind them of the principle [c] St. Augustine so frequently repeats, that without true piety, that is, without knowledge and love of the true God, there can be no real virtue; that it ceases to be such, when produced by no other motive than human glory. It is true, adds he, these virtues, though false and imperfect, do however enable those who have them to be much more serviceable to the public, than if they had them not. And it is in this sense we may say that it were sometimes to be wished that those who govern were good pagans, good Romans, and acted according to the great principles, which were the soul of their conduct. [d] But the state is then absolutely happy, when it pleases God to advance such to an high station, as unite true and solid piety with the great qualities which we admire in the ancients.

PART II.

OF SACRED HISTORY.

I SHALL reduce what I have to say upon the study of Sacred History to two heads.

First I shall lay down the principles I think necessary for making a proper advantage of this study; and then I shall make the application of them to some examples.

[c] Dum illud constet inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem sine verâ pietate, id est veri Dei vero cultu, veram posse habere virtutem, nec eam veram esse, quando gloriæ servit humanæ. S. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 19.

[d] Illi autem, qui verâ pietate præditi bene vivunt, si habent scientiam regendi populos, nihil est felicius rebus humanis, quàm si Deo miserante habeant potestatem. Ibid.

CHAP.

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CHAP. I.

NECESSARY PRINCIPLES FOR THE UNDERSTANDING SACRED HISTORY.

BEFORE I set down the observations necessary to be made in the studying of Sacred History, or teaching it to others, I think it proper to begin with giving a general idea of it, which may explain the character peculiar to it, and assist us in shewing wherein this history differs from all others.

ARTICLE I.

THE PROPER AND PECULIAR CHARACTERS OF SACRED HISTORY.

SACRED History is very different from all other history whatsoever. The last contains only human facts and temporal events, and often full of uncertainty and contradiction. But the other is the history of God himself, the supreme Being; the history of his omnipotence, his infinite wisdom, his universal providence, his holiness, his justice, his mercy, and all his other attributes, set forth under a thousand forms, and displayed by abundance of wonderful effects. The book which contains all these wonders is the most ancient book in the world, and the only one before the coming of the Messiah, in which God has shewn us, in a clear and certain manner, what he is, what we are, and for what ends designed.

Other histories leave us deeply ignorant in all these important points. Instead of giving a clear and distinct idea of the Godhead, they render it obscure, dishonour and disfigure it by numberless extravagant fables, differing only from one another in a greater or less degree of absurdity. They give us no insight into the nature of the world we inhabit, whether it had

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had a beginning, by whom or to what end it was created, how it is supported and preserved, or whether it is always to subsist; we learn nothing what we are ourselves, what our original, nature, design, or end.

Sacred History begins with clearly revealing to us in a few words the greatest and most important truths, That there is a God, pre-existing before all things, and consequently eternal; that the world is the work of his hands, that he made it out of nothing by his word alone, and that thus he is almighty. [e] *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.*

It then represents man, for whom this world was made, as coming forth from the hands of his Creator, and compounded of a body and a soul; a body made out of a little dust, the proof of its weakness; and a soul, breathed into it by God, and consequently distinct from the body, spiritual, intelligent, and from the very substance of its nature and constitution, incorruptible and immortal.

It describes the happy condition in which man was created, righteous and innocent, and destined for eternal happiness, if he had persevered in his righteousness and innocence; his sad fall by sin, the fatal source of all his misfortunes, and the twofold death to which he was condemned with all his posterity; and lastly, his future restoration by an all-powerful Mediator, which was even then promised and pointed out to him for his consolation, though at the distance of a remote futurity; all the circumstances and characters whereof are afterwards described, but under the faint shadows of figures and symbols, which like so many veils, serve at the same time to disclose and hide it.

It teaches us, that in this restoration of mankind, the great work of God, to which all is referred, and in which all terminates, is to form to himself a kingdom worthy of him, a kingdom which shall alone subsist to all eternity, and to which all others shall give place; that Jesus Christ shall be the founder and

[e] Gen. i. 1.

ruler

ruler of this kingdom, according to the august prophecy of [*f*] Daniel, who after he had seen in a vision under different symbols the succession and ruin of all the great empires of the world, sees at last the Son of Man drawing near to the Ancient of Days, *usque ad Antiquum Dierum*, a noble and sublime expression to denote the Eternal; and immediately adds, *that God gave him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all nations and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.*

This kingdom is the church, which is begun and formed here upon earth, and shall one day be carried up into heaven, the place of its original and eternal habitation. [*g*] *And then cometh the end,* that is, of this visible world, which subsists only for the other, *when Jesus Christ, after having put down all rule, and all authority, and power, shall have delivered up the kingdom,* that is to say, the blessed and holy company of the elect, *to God, even the Father.*

It is this blessed society of the just, and he who has been pleased to be their head, sanctifier, father, and spouse, who are the grand object and the last end of all the designs of God. From the beginning of the world, and even before sin had perverted the order of it, he had them both in view. [*h*] St. Paul declares in express terms, that the first Adam was the figure of the second, *qui est forma futuri;* and [*i*] he insinuates to us, that Eve, who was taken from Adam's side during his mysterious sleep, was a natural image of the church, proceeding from the side of Christ, who slept upon the cross to make us the children of it.

We see God, who is always watchful over the work of his own hands, from the earliest times preparing at a distance the formation of the Christian church, and laying the foundations of it, by revealing to man such mysteries as it was always necessary to his salva-

[*f*] Dan. vii. 1—14.
[*g*] 1 Cor. xv. 24.
[*h*] Rom. v. 14.
[*i*] Eph. v. 25, &c.

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tion for man to know, by frequently renewing to him the promise of a Redeemer, by pointing out to him the necessity of believing in a Mediator for the obtaining of true righteousness; by teaching him the essence of religion and the spirit of true worship; by transmitting from age to age, without alteration, these capital doctrines by the long life of the first patriarchs, who were full of faith and holiness; by taking care, through the means of the ark, to preserve these essential truths from perishing in the deluge; and lastly, by forming from the beginning a society of just men, more or less numerous and visible, and preserving them by an uninterrupted succession.

But when the earth began to be again overspread with an inundation of errors and crimes, of a more pernicious consequence than the deluge of waters they had lately escaped from; God, to secure the salutary truths, which began to grow obscure and extinct in all nations, committed them in trust to a family entirely devoted to religion. Of them he forms a peculiar people, inclosed within the precincts of a particular country which he had long before prepared for them, separated from all other nations by distinct laws and customs, directed and governed in a manner entirely singular, exposed as a spectacle to the rest of the world by the innumerable wonders he wrought amongst them, either with a view to fix them in the promised land, to keep them in possession of it, or bring them back to it when driven out. He was not content to guide them like other people, by a general and common providence, but himself became their head, legislator, and king. And it was his will, that this people should be the type and figure of what was afterwards to happen to the church, by their departure out of Egypt, their wandering in the desert, their entrance into the land of promise, their wars and conquests, their long captivity in Babylon, their return into their own country; in a word, by all the different states and changes which befel them; and that the expectation of the Messiah, promised to

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the patriarch, figured by the ceremonies and sacrifices of the law, foretold by the prophets, should be the proper and especial character of this people to distinguish them from all the other nations of the earth.

This is what the scripture teaches us, and alone could discover to us, as it alone is the depositary of the divine revelations, and of the manifestation of God's decrees, which lay concealed in his bosom from all eternity, till the moment he was pleased to divulge them. And can any object be greater, of nearer concern, and more worthy the attention of mankind, than an history, wherein God has thought fit of himself to draw with his own hand the plan of our eternal destiny?

To fix the certainty of revelation, and establish religion upon a firm foundation, it has pleased God to give it two sorts of proof, which were at the same time suited to the capacities of the most simple, and superior to all the subtleties of the incredulous, which visibly bore the character of omnipotence; and which neither all the endeavours of man, or cunning of devils were able to imitate.

These two sorts of proof consists in miracles and prophecies.

The miracles are plain, public, notorious, exposed to the eyes of all the world, infinitely multiplied and diversified, long foretold and expected, and continuing for a long series of days and sometimes of years. They are evident facts, memorable events, of which the dullest understanding could not but be sensible, whereof the whole people were not only spectators and witnesses, but themselves the matter and object; they reap the advantages of them, and perceive the effects, and have their own happiness or misery depending on them. The family of Noah could not forget the destruction of the whole world by the deluge, after the continued menaces of an age; nor the miraculous manner in which they alone were preserved in the ark. The fire which came down from heaven upon the unrighteous

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righteous cities; the whole kingdom of Egypt punished at different times by ten terrible plagues; the sea opening a passage to the Israelites, and closing to overwhelm Pharaoh and his army; the people of Israel fed with manna for forty years, and drinking of the brooks which flowed out of the stony rocks, covered with a cloud from the heat of the day, and enlightened by night with a pillar of fire; their clothes and their shoes not worn out in the course of so long a journey; the streams of Jordan forgetting to flow, and the sun standing still to secure the victory; an army of hornets marching before the people of God to drive the Canaanites from their possessions; the clouds at several times converted into a shower of hail-stones to overthrow the enemy; the nations in league against Israel dispersed by a vain terror, or exterminated by a mutual slaughter in turning their arms against one another; an hundred fourscore and five thousand struck dead with thunder in one night under the walls of Jerusalem: all these prodigies, and a thousand others of a like nature, whereof several were attested by solemn feasts, established on purpose to perpetuate their memory, and by sacred songs which were in the mouths of all the Israelites, could not be unknown to the most stupid, nor called in question by the most incredulous.

And the same may be said of the prophecies. We are struck with astonishment, and consider as the utmost effort of human understanding, that a famous [*k*] historian should have been able by the force of his genius, a superior capacity, and his profound knowledge of the characters of men and nations, to pry so far into the darkness of futurity, as to discern a considerable alteration which was to happen in the Roman commonwealth. And certainly such a foresight very much deserves our admiration; and there is nobody that has ever so little taste and curiosity, who is not well pleased to examine, whether the historian has really conjectured so exactly as is reported.

[*k*] Polybius.

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The Sacred History presents us with far greater wonders. We there see a multitude of inspired men, who do not speak doubtfully, with hesitation, or by conjecture, but with an affirmative voice loudly and publicly declare that such and such events should certainly happen in the time and place, and with all the circumstances that these prophets express. But what events? the most particular, the most personal, and such as most nearly concerned the interest of the nation, and at the same time were the most remote from all outward appearance. Under the flourishing reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, when the state enjoyed peace and plenty, and luxury in eating, building and furniture was carried to excess, what likelihood was there of the terrible famine and shameful captivity [*l*] Isaiah then threatened the ladies of the greatest distinction with, or what probability of the extreme misery which actually befel them in the following reign?

When, some time after, Jerusalem, blocked up by the numerous army of Sennacherib, was reduced to the last extremity, without troops, without provisions, or any hopes of human assistance, especially after the army of the Egyptians had been cut to pieces, was the prediction of Isaiah credible, that the city should not be taken, that it should not be besieged in form, that the enemy should not cast an arrow against it, and that this formidable army should be exterminated at once, without any human concurrence, and its king put to flight?

The entire destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes, the carrying Judah away captive to Babylon after the conquest and overthrow of Jerusalem, the express term of seventy years set for the duration of their captivity, their glorious return into their own country, their deliverer specified and called by his proper name above two hundred years before he was born, the surprising and till then unheard-of manner in which this famous conqueror was to take Babylon; could all this be the effect of human foresight, or was

[*l*] Isa. iii. 16, 26, &c.

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there the least appearance of it, when the prophets foretold it?

These predictions however, illustrious as they were, served only as a veil or preparation to others of far greater importance, to which the accomplishment of the former was to give a degree of authority and credit, superior in strength to all that human understanding could imagine or desire for the gaining of a full conviction and an unchangeable belief. It is plain, I mean the predictions relating to the Messiah, and the establishment of the Christian church. These are so clear and circumstantial, that they surpass all imagination. The prophets have not only specified the time, the place, and the manner of the Messiah's birth, the principal actions of his life, and the effects of his preaching; but they saw and foretold the most particular circumstances of his death and resurrection, and have related them with almost as much exactness as the evangelists themselves, who were eye-witnesses of them.

But what shall we say of those great events, which constitute the fate of mankind, take in the extent of all ages, and at last happily lose themselves in the eternity, which was their end and design; the establishment of the church upon earth by the preaching of twelve fishermen; the reprobation of the whole body of the Jewish nation; the vocation of the Gentiles, to be substituted in the place of a people once so dearly beloved, and favoured with such high privileges; the destruction of idolatry throughout the world; the dispersion of the Jews into all parts of the earth, to serve as witnesses to the truth of the holy scriptures, and the accomplishment of the prophecies; their future return to the faith of Christ, which will be the refuge and consolation of the church in the latter days; and lastly, the translation of this church, after many trials and dangers, from earth to heaven, there to enjoy eternal peace and felicity? These are the subjects with which the prophets entertain us, and for this end the holy scriptures were written.

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Now I ask in the first place, whether we shall not be wanting in the most essential part of the education of youth, if we suffer them to be ignorant of an history so venerable and important for its antiquity, its authority, and the greatness and variety of facts related in it, and more especially for the intimate union it has with our holy religion, as it is the foundation of it, as it contains all the proofs of it, points out to us all its duties, and for which it is so capable of inspiring us with the greatest respect from our most tender years, which may afterwards serve as a check and barrier against the licentious boldness of incredulity, which every day gains ground, and threatens us with the entire loss of the faith.

I ask in the second place, whether it be to study and teach Sacred History as we ought, barely to consider the facts contained in it as historical facts, or to lay them before youth as objects only of their curiosity and admiration, without shewing them as the firmest supports of their belief, the legal patent of their true nobility, and certain pledges of their future greatness; without teaching them to compare these *miraculous* and *prophetical* events with the most boasted *prodigies* and oracles of the heathen: and without making them sensible how vain those upon which the whole Roman religion, for instance, was founded, and which [*m*] Tully in some of his books has endeavoured to support with all his eloquence, (though in [*n*] others he absolutely overthrows them) how vain and frivolous, I say, these prodigies and oracles are, and how far remote, supposing they were true, from the certainty, majesty, and number of those, which the Sacred History presents us with in every page?

Lastly, I ask whether we should pay to the Sacred History, dictated by the Holy Ghost himself, the respect which is due to it, by examining only the letter of it, without penetrating farther to discover the spirit and true signification of it, especially after such light as the evangelists and apostles, and since them the

[*m*] L. 2. de Nat. Deor. [*n*] L. 2. de Divinat.

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constant and uninterrupted tradition of the fathers, have given us upon this matter. We very often read in the Gospel, that the actions related there were the accomplishment of the figures and prophecies of the Old Testament; and Jesus Christ himself assures us, that Moses has principally written of him; [o] *Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me.* [p] St. Paul tells us, in clear and express terms, that Jesus Christ was the end of the law, and that what happened to the Jews, happened to them by way of type and figure. St. Augustine, who is herein no other than the interpreter and channel of the tradition of the church, declares to us, speaking of the saints of the Old Testament, that not only their words, but their life, their marriages, their children, their actions, were a figure and prediction of what was long after to happen in the Christian church; [q] *Horum sanctorum, qui præcesserunt tempore nativitatem Domini, non solùm sermo, sed etiam vita, & conjugia, & filii, & facta, prophetia fuit hujus temporis, quo per fidem passionis Christi ex gentibus congregatur ecclesia;* and that the whole Hebrew nation were a kind of great prophet of him, who alone deserves to be called great; [r] *Totumque illud regnum gentis Hebræorum, magnum quemdam, quia & magni cujusdam fuisse prophetam.* Whence he concludes that a prophecy of Christ and the church should be sought for in the actions of that people: *In iis quæ in illis, vel de illis divinitus fiebant, prophetia venturi Christi & ecclesiæ perscrutanda est.*

In what is said, for instance, of Abraham, [s] that he cast out Hagar, who was his lawful wife, though a bond-woman of a second rank, with Ishmael his son, without giving them any thing for their subsistence but a little bread and water, can any man of good sense or understanding comprehend that this patriarch, who was so liberal and humane to strangers, would

[o] John v. 46.
[p] Rom. x. 4. 1 Cor. x. 11.
[q] S. Aug. de Catech. Rud. c. 19.
[r] L. 22. contra Faust. c. 24.
[s] Gen. xxii.

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have treated his wife and son with such severity, if there was not some mystery concealed under it?

Though tradition did not discover to us the meaning of the same patriarch's action in offering up Isaac, would not reason alone, I mean in a man enlightened with faith, suffice to make us discern in it the charity of our heavenly Father, who had so great a love for mankind, as to give his only Son for them?

Can we tell the children the history of the brazen serpent fixed and hung upon a cross in the widerness as a remedy for the Israelites, who had been bitten by the fiery serpents, without explaining to them at the same time, of whom this serpent was the type?

Should we rightly understand the admirable history of Jonah, if we limited it only to the letter, and did not discern the resurrection of Christ restored to life again from the grave on the third day, and the speedy and miraculous conversion of the Gentiles, which was the fruit of our Saviour's death and resurrection?

And the same may be observed in many other passages in Sacred History, which are not understood if not fully comprehended. We should study it as Jews, and not as Christians, if we did not remove the veil that covers it, and were content with the surface, which, though rich indeed and valuable, conceals other riches of a far more inestimable value.

These types or figures should be explained to youth more or less fully in proportion to their years, taking care to dwell especially upon such as are explained in the New Testament, the meaning of which cannot possibly be mistaken; however, a choice should be made of the clearest of these, and such as are best suited to the age of the pupil. There are some however so plain and evident in themselves, though not explained in the New Testament, that we cannot possibly doubt their signification, as the history of Joseph, and several others of the like nature.

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ARTICLE II.

USEFUL OBSERVATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF SACRED HISTORY.

THE first care to be taken in the study of history in general, is to throw it into such order and method as to be able clearly to distinguish facts, persons, times, and places; and to this end chronology and geography may contribute, which have been deservedly called the two eyes of history, as they give a great addition of light to it, and remove all kind of confusion.

When I recommend the study of chronology, I am far from inclining to engage you in the examination of those difficult and knotty questions, of which it is very susceptible, and of which the discussion properly belongs only to the learned. It is sufficient, if they have a clear and distinct idea, not of the precise year of every particular fact, for that would be endless and extremely troublesome, but in general of the age wherein the most considerable events fell out.

Sacred History, from the creation of the world to the birth of Jesus Christ, is usually divided into six ages or parts, which in all take in the space of four thousand years. This division is not difficult to be retained, nor above the comprehension of children. The number of years in each of these ages is next to be observed, avoiding, as much as possible, the fractions or small numbers, and reducing them to a round sum. Thus the fourth age, which reaches from the departure out of Egypt to the time when the foundations of the temple were laid, exactly computed, includes but four hundred and seventy-nine years and seventeen days. But it is better to tell youth, that it amounts to about four hundred and eighty years. This space may be again divided into different parts, but we must not multiply them too much; into forty years, which the people

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people passed in the wilderness under the conduct of Moses; three hundred and fifty from their entrance into the Holy Land under the direction of Joshua and the judges; forty years under Saul, forty more under David, and some years of the reign of Solomon. Such a division is not very burdensome to the memory, and in my opinion makes the knowledge of facts much more clear and easy.

Among the writers of chronology, Usher and Petavius are the most followed. Either the one or the other of these great men may be chosen for a guide; but in the same college it will be proper to keep to one and the same in every class.

As there are some facts in Sacred History differently related by the several authors who have treated of them, it is the master's business to unite and reconcile these differences, by chusing out of each book such circumstances as are most instructive and affecting. When they come to the times of the prophets, their writings give a great light to the historical books, that omit several considerable facts, or often but slightly touch upon them; of which we shall give some examples in the sequel.

There has been lately printed a book, entitled, *An Abridgment of the history of the Old Testament*, which may be very useful not only to youth, but to all persons, who have not leisure or capacity enough for studying the Sacred History in the scripture itself. Whatever is most essential in Sacred History is thrown into this abridgment. That simplicity of style is diligently observed, which is so peculiar to it. In the historical relations care is also taken to intermix certain words of scripture, which convey great sense, and suggest matter for important reflections. Lastly, to render this work more complete and useful, it concludes with an extract from the sapiental and prophetical books. It were to be wished, we had the like assistance for profane history.

II. In

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II. In the studying of Sacred History we must not neglect the usages and customs peculiar to the people of God, their laws, their government, and manner of living. The excellent book of M. l'Abbé Fleuri's, intitled the *Manners of the Israelites*, contains all that can be desired upon this subject, and dispenses with treating it more at large.

III. It is proper to make youth take notice of the principal characters of the Jews, the carnal Jews I mean, who made up the body of the nation. The honour which God had shewn them in chusing them to be his people, had filled them with pride. They looked upon all other nations with the utmost contempt. They thought every thing their due. Full of presumption, and an high opinion of themselves, they expected to be justified only by their own works. They placed their whole confidence in the outward observances of the law. They confined their vows and hopes to temporal advantages and earthly blessings. When brought to the trial, and reduced to any necessity, forgetful of all the benefits of God, and all the miracles he had wrought in their favour, and constantly disposed to rebel against him and their superiors, they gave themselves up to complaint, murmuring and despair. And lastly, if we except the latter times, they had always an irresistible inclination to idolatry.

It is this last circumstance which in my opinion lets us most into the real character of the Jewish nation, and is one of the principal motives of the choice which God made of them; I mean, their hardness of heart, an extreme inclination to do ill, by which God would shew us, that means purely exterior are absolutely incapable of correcting the heart of man, as they were all without exception employed for several ages in healing the Jews of idolatry, and teaching them to observe the first commandment, but without success. Neither the long and miserable oppression they underwent

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derwent in Egypt; nor the joy and gratitude for a miraculous deliverance, and the instruction of the law given at the foot of mount Sinai; neither the substitution of a new race, born in the wilderness, brought up by Moses, formed by the law, intimidated by the punishment of their fathers; nor their entrance into the promised land, and the actual enjoyment of all the effects of the promise; neither the different chastisements, nor the warnings and examples of the prophets, during their abode in that land, were able to root out that impious inclination. But growing still more wicked, more corrupt, and idolatrous in the promised land, than they had been in Egypt, God at last was obliged to send them captive to Nineveh and Babylon; and yet this correction served only to harden them; so that, giving up themselves to all manner of wickedness, they caused the name of the God of Israel to be blasphemed among the idolatrous nations, whom they exceeded in all manner of guilt and impiety.

It is God himself, who declares to us in his prophets, and especially in [t] Exekiel, the design he had of shewing mankind by the series of all the events which befel his people, of shewing them, I say, the excessive corruption of their hearts, and the inability of purely external remedies for the healing so ancient and inveterate an evil. This view is one of the great keys of scripture, and shews us most sensibly the secret and spirit of the Old Testament. Without the knowledge of this circumstance, the Sacred History will consist of impenetrable obscurities, and remain an incomprehensible book to the greatest part of its readers. To what end indeed was the choice of a people so obstinate and ungrateful? Why so many favours conferred upon Israel, preferably to so many other nations, in all outward appearance better than they? Why so constant an attachment to this people, notwithstanding so fixed a perseverance in ingratitude? Why were they made to pass through so many various

[t] Ezek. xx.

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conditions? Why that continual alternative of promises and threatnings, consolations and afflictions, rewards and corrections? Why so many instructions, warnings, invitations, reproofs, miracles, prophets, and holy guides? Why so many benefits bestowed on a people, who, instead of growing better, became the worse for them? This depth of the divine wisdom, which astonishes us, should at the same time instruct us; as from this very obscurity, diffused through the whole conduct of God towards his people, there breaks out a light more clear than that of the sun, demonstrating to us the insufficiency of all outward applications in healing the corruption of the human heart.

IV. It appears evidently from the manner in which the Old Testament is written, that the design of God, in giving it to men, was to make them extremely attentive to the great examples of virtue contained in it. The scripture cuts off in few words the history of the ungodly, how great soever they were in the eyes of the world; and on the other hand dwells long upon the smallest actions of the righteous. The first book of kings is the history of Samuel; the second that of David; the third and fourth of Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Elijah, Elisha, and Isaiah. The wicked seem to be mentioned only with regret, by accident, and on purpose to be condemned. If we compare what is said of Nimrod, who built [u] the two mighty cities of the world, and founded the greatest empire that ever was in the universe, with what is reported of the first patriarchs, we know not why the very important facts, which must have rendered the life of that famous conqueror so particular, and given so much light and ornament to ancient history, should be passed over with such rapidity, to dwell so long upon the minute, and seemingly unnecessary circumstances of the life either of Abraham, or Jacob, which was still less illustrious than that of his grandfather. But God points out to us herein how different his

[u] Nineveh and Babylon.

thoughts

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thoughts are from ours, in letting us see in the first what men admire and wish for, and in the others what he is well pleased with, and thinks worthy his approbation and our attention.

The scripture lays down rules, and prescribes models for all ranks and conditions. Kings and judges, rich and poor, husbands and wives, fathers and children, all find there most excellent instructions upon every branch of their duty. It is an useful, and withal an agreeable exercise, to accustom youth to join together of themselves and repeat off hand several examples upon the same subject.

Kings in holy scripture, I mean such as were after God's own heart, consider themselves only as the ministers of the supreme King, and use their authority only to make their subjects happy, by making them better. They are full of zeal for the glory of God and the public good. Let but any one carefully reflect upon the sentiments of piety, which David expressed in the translation of the ark, and his preparations for building the temple; Jehoshaphat's visitation of his kingdom; Hezekiah's cares for religion from the moment he began to reign; the indefatigable zeal of Josiah for restoring the true worship not only in Judah, but in the ten tribes also, and he will plainly see that those princes thought themselves placed on the throne only to establish the kingdom of God in their dominions. And to shew that piety is not inconsistent with true politics, the scripture affects sometimes to mention in particular the wise precautions they took in war and peace; fortifications of towns, magazines of arms, disciplined troops; the cares of agriculture, of the feeding and preservation of cattle, the certain and innocent sources of the plenty that reigned throughout the country, and enabled the people to pay with joy and ease the taxes which were constantly regulated according to the real necessities of the state, and the abilities of every private subject.

Judges, magistrates, ministers, and all persons in authority, find perfect models in Moses, Joshua, the Judges

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Judges to Samuel, in Job, Nehemiah, Esdras, and Eliakim. Their whole conduct shews an entire disinterestedness. They have no thoughts of establishing or raising a family. They are popular, plain, and modest, without pomp, without distinctions, without guards, without jealousy in the command, receiving the advice of persons below them with pleasure, and gladly sharing with them in authority.

Riches. Abraham, Job, Boaz, &c.

We know that Abraham was very rich, and at the same time very liberal and generous. He would have looked upon it as a shame and a reproach, if any other than God had made him rich. [x] *I will not take any thing that is thine*, says he to the king of Sodom, who out of gratitude offered Abraham all the spoils he had recovered from the hands of the enemies, *lest thou shouldest say I have made Abraham rich.* His house was open to all strangers and passengers. [y] The scripture represents this holy man as sitting at his tent-door in the heat of the day, and placed there as a centinel for charity, to wait, or rather to seek opportunities of exercising hospitality; for it is said that he ran to meet his guests; *And when he saw them, he ran to meet them.*

Job was a powerful and mighty prince. The scripture gives us in him a magnificent picture of an eminent person, placed in authority, and abounding with riches. [z] From his youth, as he lively expresses his sentiments, compassion was brought up with him, and had been his guide from his mother's womb. [a] He thought it superior to the most glorious titles, that he was eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, the father of the poor, the sanctuary of strangers, the comforter of the widow, and the protector of the orphan that had none to help him. [b] He despised not to reason with his man-servant or his maid-servant, when they thought they had any subject of complaint against

[x] Gen. xiv. 23.
[y] Ibid. xviii. 1, 2.
[z] Job xxxi. 18.
[a] Ibid. xxix. 12, 15, 16.
[b] Ibid. xxxi. 13, 15.

him,

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him, as thoroughly convinced that they had all one common master, and the same God was their creator and his. [c] He never placed his confidence in his great riches, and the destruction of his enemies never gave him any secret joy. [d] Accessible to all without distinction, he took cognizance of affairs with extreme application. [e] He put on righteousness, and it clothed him; his judgment was as a robe and a diadem: [f] he brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of their teeth: [g] and the pleasing fruit he reaped from his zeal was the satisfaction of having delivered him that was ready to perish, and having his blessing come upon him; [h] and at the same time that he sat in the midst of senators and princes, and dwelt as a king in the army, he ceased not to be the comforter of the afflicted.

Boaz is no less admirable in this kind. [i] In the midst of riches he is laborious, diligent in husbandry, plain, without luxury, delicacy, sloth, or pride. How affable, how obliging and kind to his servants! *The Lord be with you*, says he to his reapers; and they answered him, *The Lord bless thee.* This was the beautiful language of religious antiquity, but how little known in our days.

How commendable was his behaviour towards Ruth, when he desires her not to go into any other field to glean, but to abide fast by his maidens to eat and drink with them; and the charitable order he gives his reapers, to let her glean even among the sheaves and to let fall some of the handfuls on purpose for her, that she might gather them up without being ashamed; teaching us by this wise conduct to save those we oblige the confusion of receiving, and ourselves the temptation of vain glory, and even pleasure of giving.

Tobit. The Holy Ghost gives us in this good man a perfect model of private life, and points out to us in him all the virtues and duties of that condition

[c] Job xxxi. 24, 25, 29.
[d] Ibid. xxix. 15.
[e] Ver. 14.
[f] Ver. 17.
[g] Ver. 11, 13.
[h] Ver. 25.
[i] Ruth ii.

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united together. We see in him a firm resolution from his infancy to stand upon his guard against the contagion of ill example; an equality of mind in the different situations of life; a generosity, in the time of his plenty, to succour the distressed, and lend even large sums without interest; a patience in supporting extreme poverty, not only without murmuring, but with thanksgiving; an invincible courage in the exercise of works of mercy; a gentleness in bearing domestic contradictions; a firm confidence in God under the severest trials; a constant care in the education of his son, as well by his example as instructions, in the fear of the Lord, in doing justice to his neighbour, and shewing compassion to the poor; and, lastly, a lively and fixed expectation of future blessing, which supported and comforted him under the greatest afflictions. *We are*, [*k*] says he, *the children of the saints, and wait for that life, which God will give to them who faithfully observe the promise they have made him.*

The poor. What an example is Job to such as have lost their substance all at once by unforeseen misfortunes. [*l*] *The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord.*

Ruth, astonished that Boaz should look upon a poor woman who was a stranger, teaches such as are reduced to beggary, as she was, how humble and grateful they ought to be, by reflecting that nothing is their due.

How happy would the case of the poor be, if like Tobit they had ever this excellent maxim in their minds, [*m*] *Fear not, my son, that we are made poor; for thou hast much wealth, if thou fear God and depart from all sin, and do that which is pleasing in his sight.*

Married persons. The holy wives of the patriarchs. Sarah the daughter of Raguel. Ruth. Esther. Judith. Tobit and Tobias. Job. One single expression of Job's shews us how far the ancients carried conjugal chastity. Job was a rich and powerful

[*k*] Tobit. ii. 18. [*m*] Tobit iv. 23.
[*l*] Job i. 21.

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prince, living in plenty, and attended by an obsequious court. Yet he tells us himself, that he had made an agreement with his eyes, and imposed the strict law upon them, never to cast a look upon a maid. [n] *I have made a covenant with mine eyes, why then should I think upon a maid?*

What I have observed of the rules and models to be found in scripture, that are suited to the several estates of life, will likewise hold good of different virtues, and every subject of morality.

Virtue constantly exercised, tried, and confirmed by afflictions. Abel. Abraham. Joseph. Moses. David. Job. Daniel, &c.

Vice unfortunate. Cain. Abimelech and the Sichemites. Absalom. Achitopel. Jeroboam. Baasha. Ahab.

The pardon of injuries. Abraham, with respect to Lot. Joseph in regard to his brethren, David, with respect to Saul.

The oppression of the poor. The weak, widows, orphans and strangers, cry to heaven for vengeance and obtain it. Abel against Cain. Jacob against Laban and Esau. Israel against the Egyptians. The blood of Gideon's children against Abimelech. Uriah against David. Naboth against Ahab and Jezebel.

Repentance covers the greatest sins, and prevents the execution of the most terrible threatnings. The Ninevites. The children of Israel very often. Ahab. Manasseh.

V. The KNOWLEDGE of God and his attributes should be one of the greatest advantages to be drawn from the study of Sacred History.

The UNITY of God. This truth is visible throughout the scripture, where God seems every where to cry aloud, that there is no other God, or Lord, than himself. [o] *I am the Lord, and there is none else.—I am God, and there is none else.*

[n] Job xxxi. 1. [o] Isa. xlv. 18, 22.

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The OMNIPOTENCE of God manifested by the creation, preservation and government of the world; by the facility with which he raises whomsoever he pleases to the throne, and casts them down again; establishes kingdoms, and destroys them; makes nations flourishing and miserable: by the sovereign power he exercises, not only over what is outward and visible, but over the heart and mind, in turning them as he pleases, from one resolution to another, according to his designs. EXAMPLES. Laban and Esau marching against Jacob. The counsel of Achitophel defeated by Hushai. The whole army of Judah transported with rage and a thirst for vengeance, marching under Rehoboam against Jeroboam, stopped and dispersed in an instant, upon the single admonition of the prophet. The army of Israel returning to Samaria, laden with spoils, and sending back two hundred thousand captives upon the bare remonstrance of certain great men of Samaria, &c.

The GOODNESS of God and its motives. It diffuses itself with profusion and inexhaustibly, by bestowing whatever is necessary, advantageous or delightful, upon men who know him not, who do not return thanks to him for it, and who even offend or blaspheme him.

The PATIENCE of God. Bearing with the crimes and impenitence of mankind for many ages, from the preaching of Enoch to the deluge. The measure of the Amorites was not full, till after four hundred years were expired. The Jewish nation supply us with many instances of it, particularly in the ruin of Samaria and Jerusalem, and the captivity of Israel and Judah, which were denounced for several years before they were executed.

The JUSTICE of God, when it shews itself at last, is terrible, destructive, inexorable; nothing can withstand or avert it. The deluge. Sodom. Nineveh. Babylon, &c.

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The character of the punishment is usually proportioned to the nature of the crime. The whole earth corrupted by mankind is drowned with the waters of the deluge. The wretched cities burning with impure lusts are consumed by fire The adultery and homicide of David are revenged by the incests and murders of his children.

The PROVIDENCE of God is universal, presides over all, to the minutest particular, governs and directs all. God calls the famine, the sword, and the pestilence to punish the ungrateful, and humble the proud. He raises on a sudden the spirit of a people, who have no thoughts of war, and brings them from far to ravage a guilty nation. He inspires the troops with ardour, courage, obedience, and a contempt of fatigues and dangers. He gives the commanders vigilance, activity, and boldness for undertaking the most difficult things; the foreseeing and distinguishing the most useful expedients; the authority and art of making themselves beloved and feared at the same time. He removes obstacles, facilitates enterprises, and grants success. On the other hand, from those he means to destroy, he takes away counsel, presence of mind, strength, and courage. He throws disorder and consternation into armies, and turns the swords of the soldiers against their companions. He brings about his designs by the most unlikely means, as in the history of Joseph; and often by such methods as seem the effects of pure chance, though all designed and prepared by infinite wisdom, as is clearly seen in the history of David, from his condition of a shepherd to the death of Saul.

Masters, in explaining Sacred History to youth, cannot too much insist upon providence, as it is an attribute of God, which we are most nearly concerned to know, of the greatest importance, and most necessary; as it influences all events both public and private, and every man ought to have it in his view in every circumstance of life, in every action of the day; as it is the firmest basis of religion, and forms the most natural

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natural and strictest ties between the creature and the Creator; as it makes us more thoroughly sensible of our entire dependance upon him, of our weakness and wants, and presents us with opportunities of exerting the greatest virtues, such as confidence in God, a grateful acknowledgment of his mercies, disinterestedness, humility, resignation, and patience; and as it furnishes piety and religious worship with the most usual subject of their exercises, by prayers, vows, thanksgivings, and sacrifices.

The KNOWLEDGE OF FUTURITY. One of the most incommunicable characters of the divinity is the knowledge of futurity. God often challenges the false deities to foretel what is to come. [p] *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods.* In teaching Sacred History youth must be made carefully to observe the most famous predictions, whether they regard temporal events or respect religion; and at the same time the character of the prophets, their mission, the end and dangers of their office. They are holy and unblamable in their manners, lead a poor and obscure life, without ambition, without interest, or deriving any advantage from their predictions. They are sent to the unbelieving who oppose and persecute them, and do not submit till the fulfilling of the prediction has made it evident. Their predictions regard public events, and declare the fate of kingdoms. They are circumstantial, published long before their accomplishment, known to all, and within the capacity of the most simple. All these particulars joined together are powerful motives for belief.

VI. Lastly, as Jesus Christ is the end of the law, whenever an occasion naturally offers, he should be pointed out to youth in the histories explained to them; in the sacrifices, the ceremonies, the actions of the patriarchs, judges, kings and prophets; in a word, in all those by whom God has thought fit in some re-

[p] Isa. xli. 23.

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spect figuratively to represent either Christ or the church, which is his spouse and his work.

VII. To all these observations I cannot avoid adding one more upon the advantages of PIETY, to which youth ought carefully to attend. And indeed it hath pleased God to shew, through the whole series of the history of the Old Testament, that all promises and rewards, with respect even to this life, are annexed to PIETY; that all temporal advantages spring from God as their sole original, and that we ought to expect them from him alone, though he has reserved for his servants in eternity such as are far more worthy his magnificence, and bear a greater proportion to virtue. It was this piety, which principally consisted in a firm confidence of God, that alone directed the fate of his people, and absolutely decided the public happiness, and condition of the state. Every thing was measured by it, favourable seasons, plenty, fruitfulness, victory over our enemies, deliverance from the greatest dangers, freedom from a foreign yoke, the enjoyment of all the advantages that could be tasted in the bosom of a profound peace. It obtained all, and surmounted every difficulty. It was by piety that Jonathan with his armour-bearer alone put a whole garrison to flight; that David unarmed overthrew the giant, and secured himself from the artifices and violence of Saul; that Jehoshaphat, without drawing a sword, triumphed over three nations in league against him; that Hezekiah saved Jerusalem and the kingdom of Judah, by seeing the destruction of an hundred and fourscore and five thousand Assyrians. On the other hand, impiety drew down all the scourges of God's anger, famine, plague, war, defeats, bondage, and the entire ruin of the most mighty families; guilt always led to an unhappy end.

Such observations may very much contribute to inculcate sentiments of piety insensibly, agreeably, without trouble or affectation, without seeming to preach, or to read long lectures of morality. It is the principal

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principal end which God has proposed in connecting all the duties, virtues, precepts, salutary truths, mysteries, and in a word all religion, with such facts as men of every condition, age, and character, are affected, because they fall within their capacity, and are no less agreeable than useful. To omit such observations, were to deprive youth of the greatest advantages to be reaped from the sacred books, and leave them ignorant of the essential part of scripture.

Having pointed out the principal things to be observed in reading and explaining Sacred History, and in some measure laid down the foundations and principles of that study, I shall next make the application of them to some particular facts, to shew how the rules I have advanced may be reduced to practice; and this I shall do with the greates order and clearness that I can.

CHAP. II.

THE APPLICATION OF THE FOREGOING PRINCIPLES TO SOME EXAMPLES.

THE examples to which I shall apply the rules I have laid down, shall be taken from two great men very famous in scripture, Joseph and Hezekiah. And to the history of these two I shall add one article upon the prophecies.

ARTICLE I.

THE STORY OF JOSEPH.

AS this story is very long and well known, I shall be obliged to omit or abridge several circumstances, though very material in themselves, that I may not dwell too much upon this subject.

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I. *Joseph sold by his brethren, carried into Egypt, brought into Potiphar's house, and thrown into prison.* Gen. xxxvii, xxxix, xl.

Jacob had twelve children, of which Joseph and Benjamin the youngest, were born to him of Rachel. The particular affection which Jacob expressed towards Joseph, and the liberty Joseph took of charging his brothers before him with a crime the scripture does not mention, and the account he gave them of his dreams, which denoted his future greatness, raised their jealousy and hatred against him.

One day as they saw him coming up to them in the country, where they were feeding their flocks, they said to one another, See here the dreamer cometh; come now therefore, let us kill him, and throw him into a pit, and we shall see what will become of his dreams. Upon the remonstrance of Reuben, they contented themselves with throwing him into the pit, and taking away his coat. Soon after they drew him out from thence, to sell him to a company of Ishmaelite merchants, who were going down into Egypt, and accordingly sold him to them for twenty pieces of silver. After this they took his coat, and dipped it in the blood of a kid, and sent it to Jacob, saying, This coat have we found; see now whether it be thy son's coat, or no. And he knew it, and said, It is my son's coat; a wild beast has devoured him; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces. And Jacob rent his cloches, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days.

The Ishmaelites carried Joseph into Egypt, and sold him to one of the principal officers in Pharaoh's court, named Potiphar. *And the Lord,* say the scripture, *was with Joseph, and the Lord made all that he did to prosper in his hand.* His master seeing that the Lord was with him, took him into favour, made him overseer over his house, and all that he had he put into his hands. Also the Lord blessed the house of Potiphar, and he multiplied his blessings on all that he had, for Joseph's sake.

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He had now lived a considerable time in Potiphar's house, when his mistress casting her eyes upon him, in the absence of her husband, solicited him to sin with her. But Joseph abhorred it, and said to her, How can I be so wicked, as to abuse the confidence placed in me by my master, and commit this sin against God? but she went on still to solicit him day by day, without obtaining her desires. At last, as Joseph was one day alone, she took hold of his garment, and pressed him to a consent. But Joseph left his garment in her hand, and fled. The woman in great indignation at his refusal, set up a loud cry, and calling to the men of her house, she told them that Joseph had attempted to do her violence, and as soon as he had heard her cry out, he fled. And when her husband came home, she said the same things to him, and shewed him the garment as a proof of what she alledged. Potiphar, too credulous to the words of his wife, gave way to the violence of his passion, and shut him up in the prison where the king's prisoners were bound. But the Lord was with Joseph, had compassion on him, and gave him grace in the eyes of the keeper of the prison.

Whilst Joseph was in prison, two of the great officers of Pharaoh's court, the chief butler and the chief baker, were thrown into the same place by the king's order. And the keeper charged Joseph with them, as he had with all the other prisoners. Some time after they both dreamed a dream in the same night, which gave them great uneasiness. Joseph explained their dreams, and foretold to the butler, that within three days he should be restored to his employment; and told the baker, that within three days Pharaoh would hang him on a tree, and the birds should eat his flesh from off him. And as he had said, so it fell out. The chief baker was put to death, and the butler restored. Joseph besought the butler to shew kindness to him, to make mention of him before Pharaoh, and bring him out of prison; for I was stolen away, says he, from the land of the Hebrews,

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Hebrews, and have done nothing that they should shut me up in this dungeon. But the chief butler being restored again to favour, thought no more of his interpreter.

REFLECTIONS.

Qu. What must we think of God's behaviour towards Joseph, whose virtue drew upon him such ill treatment, first from his brethren, who hated him, and cruelly used him; and then from his mistress, Potiphar's wife, who wrongfully accused him, and caused him to be shut up like a wretch in a dungeon?

Answ. It has pleased God by this conduct to lay before us very important instructions.

I. His design is to undeceive mankind in the false notions they entertain of providence and virtue. They are apt to think that God neglects the care of human affairs, when those that fear him are oppressed and in misery. They think that virtue should always render such as are sincerely possessed of it happy in this life. The scripture overthrows these mistaken prejudices by the example of Joseph, over whom God was peculiarly watchful, and yet he was hated by his brethren, sold, banished, wrongfully accused and thrown into prison; and for all this preserved his virtue pure and unsullied, without being ever the better for it for several years; and was even thrown into captivity, and ran the hazard of losing his life only for constantly persevering in his duty. It is true, God afterwards broke his bonds, and raised him to supreme authority. But Joseph was prepared to suffer oppression to the end of his days. He consented to die in prison, if it so pleased God; and would have been no less precious in his sight, nor less secure of the eternal blessings he hoped from his mercy, though he had appeared to have been forsaken by him to the last moment.

Qu. Does it actually appear, that God took a peculiar care of Joseph, during his misfortunes?

Ans.

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Ans. The scripture seems to have been particularly careful to make us observe in what manner God protected his servant, by informing us [*q*] that God was always with him, and for this reason he was a prosperous man; that he caused him to find favour in the sight of his master, who saw that God was with him; and that he blessed him in all that he did; that he put it into Potiphar's heart to make him, young as he was, the overseer over all his house; that to engage the master to his servant by a stronger and more lasting degree of affection, the Lord blessed the house of the Egyptian for Joseph's sake, and his blessings was upon all that he had in the house and in the field; insomuch that he left all that he had in his hand, and knew not ought he had, save the bread that he eat; that when Joseph was cast into prison, the Lord shewed him mercy, and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, insomuch that he committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were in the prison, without looking to any thing that was under his hand; and placed such confidence in him, that nothing was done there without his direction; that lastly, whatever he did the Lord made it to prosper.

Qu. But notwithstanding all these favours, was not the prison a very sorrowful dwelling for Joseph?

Ans. When thrown into prison, he seemed forsaken of all; but God descended with him into the obscure dungeon, wherein he was shut up. *For the Lord was with Joseph.* And the scripture does not scruple to say, that the eternal Wisdom became in a manner a prisoner with him; [*r*] *She went down with him into the pit, and left him not in bonds.* She softened the tediousness of the nights, which were spent in watching and suffering. She was a light in that darkness, whither the rays of the sun could not penetrate. She removed from solitude and captivity, which neither reading nor business could diminish or suspend the sense of, the terrible weight of disquie-

[*q*] Gen. xxxix. 2, &c [*r*] Wisd. x. 13, 14.

tude,

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tude, which shocks the most resolute. And lastly, she diffused a calmness and serenity over his mind, of which the source was invisible and inexhaustible. When Joseph was made a partner in the throne of Pharaoh, it is not said, that Wisdom ascended with him thither, as it is said that she descended with him into prison. She accompanied him without doubt in the second estate, but the first was dearer to Joseph, and must be so to every man that has faith.

Qu. What other instruction has it pleased God to give us in the conduct he observed with regard to Joseph?

Ans. He would teach us in the second place how his providence conducts all things to the execution of his designs, and how he makes the very obstacles, which men strive to throw in their way, subservient to them. The design of God was to raise Joseph to such a degree of greatness and power, as should oblige his brothers to bow down humbly before him. Joseph's brethren opposed it; but, says the scripture, [*s*] *There is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord.* What they did to humble Joseph was the first step, by which God leads him to elevation and glory; and the horrible calumny of his unchaste mistress, which seemed to complete his misfortunes, was the circumstance which advanced him almost to the throne.

This Joseph observes himself to his brethren afterwards, by telling them it was not they that had sent him into Egypt, but God that had brought him thither. [*t*] *So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God.* These words are great matter of consolation to such as have faith. Whatever shall be designed against them, shall become the means of securing their happiness and salvation. Secret machinations, or open hatred, captivity, or calumny, shall bring them to the point which grace has marked out for them; after which envy and injustice shall be con-

[*s*] Prov. xxi. 30. [*t*] Gen. xlv. 8.

founded,

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founded, and when they shall have settled Joseph upon the throne, they shall tremble in his presence.

Qu. What means did Joseph make use of to resist the temptation laid for him by his mistress?

Ans. We find in his conduct an excellent model of what we should do, when we are tempted. Joseph defends himself at first by the remembrance of God and his duty. How, says he, to that bold and shameless woman, can I commit such an action, who have God for my witness and my judge? It is in his sight that you and I shall both become criminal. It is he who commands me to disobey you on this occasion. How can I escape his view, or corrupt his justice, or be covered from his indignation; [*u*] *How then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?* But when the temptation was become so strong, that he had cause to fear his weakness might yield to it, he betakes himself to flight, forsakes all, and exposes himself to the utmost hazard, rather than continue in such a state, as might incline him to offend against God.

Qu. Is there no other reflection to be made upon the misfortunes and disgrace of Joseph?

Ans. How severe and unjust soever the treatment was which Joseph was to undergo, he never let fall the least word of murmuring and complaint. He never abandoned himself to discouragement, whilst he was a bond-slave, but gave himself up entirely to the service of his master. So much leisure as prisoners have, and notwithstanding the natural inclination of mankind to talk of their own adventures, he never made a recital of his. And when under a necessity of laying himself open to the chief butler, he does it with such a moderation and charity as cannot be sufficiently admired. *For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews, and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon.* He neither names his brethren who had sold him, nor his mistress who had unjustly accused him. He only says, that he was carried away and made a slave,

[*u*] Gen. xxxix. 9.

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though freeborn, and condemned to a cruel prison, though he was innocent. Another person of less humility and prudence, would have told the story of his life, and insisted on the most honourable circumstances. If he had done so, the Holy Ghost would have left a virtue in darkness, which rather than subsist in obscurity, would have chose to have been comforted under misfortune, by the vain satisfaction of making itself admired; whereas care has been taken to let all ages know what Joseph would not have mentioned in secret, nor in the obscure dungeon wherein he was shut up.

II. *Joseph's advancement. The first descent of his brethren into Egypt.* Gen. xli, xlii.

At the end of two full years, after the butler was restored, Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in the same night. In the one he saw seven fat kine coming up out of the river, which were devoured by seven other lean kine, that came up after them out of the same river. In the second he saw seven full ears of corn, which were presently after devoured by seven thin ears. And when none of the wise men of Egypt could interpret these dreams, the butler remembered Joseph, and spoke of him to the king, who caused him presently to be brought out of prison and told him his dreams. Joseph answered, that the seven fat kine and the seven full ears signified seven years of plenty; and the seven lean kine and thin ears signified seven years of famine which were to succeed them. And he advised the king to look out a wise and discreet man, who should be employed during the seven years of plenty to lay up part of the corn in public store-houses, that Egypt might be supplied from thence in the years of famine. This counsel pleased Pharaoh, and he said to Joseph, I appoint thee this day to rule over the land of Egypt; according to thy word shall my people be governed, and only I shall be greater than thou. At the same time he took off

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off his [x] ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had, and they cried before him, Bow the knee. He also changed his name, and gave him one which signified, *The saviour of the world.*

The seven years of plenty fell out, as Joseph had foretold. And he gathered up a great quantity of the corn, and laid it in the king's store-houses. The famine came next, and spread itself over all countries; but in Egypt there was corn. And when the people were almost famished, they cried unto Pharaoh for bread. And he said unto them, Go unto Joseph, what he saith unto you, do. Joseph then opened the store-houses, and sold corn to the Egyptians and other nations.

Jacob, having heard that there was corn in Egypt, ordered his sons to go down thither. They went to the number of ten; for Jacob kept Benjamin with him, lest some accident should happen to him by the way. When they were come into Egypt, they presented themselves before Joseph, and bowed down before him. Joseph knew his brethren, and seeing them lie at his feet, he remembered the dreams which he had formerly dreamed, but did not make himself known unto them. He spoke to them roughly, and treated them as spies, who were come to take a view of the country. But they answered him, My lord, we are come to buy corn; we are twelve brothers, all one man's sons, who is in the land of Canaan. The youngest is left with our father, the other is dead. Well then, answers Joseph, by this ye shall be proved. Send one of you to fetch your brother, and the rest shall be kept in prison. He thought fit however to detain but one of them. Struck with terror and remorse, they said one to another in their own language, This distress is justly come upon us, for being guilty concerning our brother. We saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us to have pity on him, but we would not hear

[x] This ring was the royal seal.

him:

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him; therefore is this misfortune come upon us. Reuben, one of them, said to them, Spake I not then unto you, Do not sin against the child, and you would not hear; therefore now is his blood required of you by God. Joseph, who understood them, though they knew it not, could not refrain from weeping. He left them for a moment, and returned again to talk with them. Then he took Simeon, and bound him before their eyes; and privately commanding his officers to restore every man's money into his sack, they departed with their asses loaden with corn.

REFLECTIONS.

Qu. Why did God leave Joseph in prison so many years, without seeming to be mindful of him?

Ans. This term, which seems long indeed to a prisoner, was necessary to confirm Joseph in humility, submission to the will of God, and patience. We should have looked upon him with concern, had we seen him in bonds, and known his innocence. But God, who had a far more indulgent and tender compassion for him, left him in a condition from which we should have delivered him. He knew what was wanting to his virtue; how long the remedies requisite for his health were to last. He saw his future temptations and dangers, and prepared for him during his bondage the assistances and strength he would stand in need of after his advancement. Thus he deals with his elect; he strengthens them in patience and humility, and does not expose them to temptation, till they are duly prepared to resist it.

Qu. How came Pharaoh so easily to resolve upon the choice of Joseph for his first minister, and to invest a stranger and a foreigner with sovereign power?

Ans. It is the happiness of a nation, when a prince is inspired with a salutary thought. Whilst Joseph was speaking to the ears of Pharaoh, God instructed him in secret. He caused him to attend to the sage advice and prudent counsels of a stranger and a captive; and

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and removed from him all the prejudices, which so frequently hinder persons in high station from submitting to the evidence of truth, and acknowledging an understanding superior to their own. He made him comprehend, that a mere human wisdom would be improper to execute what had been suggested to him by wisdom from above, and that it would be in vain to seek out for any other minister, than the person whom God had chosen. *Can we find,* [y] says Pharaoh, *such a one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?*

In talking thus, he entirely reformed the errors of a false policy, which considers virtue and religion as unserviceable in the government of a state, and finds an exact probity too great a check upon its views and projects. This stupid impiety is exposed to eternal shame by an infidel king. He is convinced, that the more of the Spirit of God a minister has, the more capable he is of governing a kingdom. And the least attention suffices to discover, that the opposite principle flows from the utter want of human understanding.

Qu. What must we think of Joseph's glory, when raised almost to a throne?

Ans. The Holy Ghost informs us in another book, that the calumnies which had been cast upon Joseph, were then fully dispersed, and the authors of them convicted of forgery. [z] *As for them that had accused him, she shewed them to be liars, and gave him perpetual glory.* Thus the pomp which surrounded him, was the triumph of virtue. It was virtue, that was exposed a spectacle to all nations; that was seated in a magnificent chariot, from whence she instructed the righteous in all ages, never to give way to despair, but to retain an invincible patience. It was before virtue, that all the world bent the knee, and Joseph was the herald, exhorting all men to the practice of virtue, at the same time that the herald, who went

[y] Gen. xli. 38. [z] Wisd. x. 14.

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before him, required that external mark of respect to be paid to the first minister of Pharaoh.

Qu. Were Joseph's dreams fulfilled, with respect to his brethren?

Ans. They were evidently so, upon their falling prostrate at his feet. [*a*] *And Joseph's brethren came, and bowed down themselves before him with their faces to the earth.* Thus was brought to pass what they had been so apprehensive of, when they knew not the interest they had in owning him for their master. The more they strove to prevent it, and make themselves independent of him, the more they contributed to advance his authority. They resolved not to fall down before him, whilst they had him amongst them; but go to seek him in Egypt, to throw themselves at his feet. They forsook him, and would have taken away his life, when sent to them by their father; but were compelled to appear before him, after a kind of resurrection, with fear and trembling. They fall down before him like Egypt and the other nations, whose example they follow, and are not afraid of being rejected by him, because they look upon him as the saviour of the world; whereas they had before been apprehensive of being subject to him, whilst they considered only their own depression in his advancement.

Qu. What do we learn from the remorse of Joseph's brethren, for the cruel treatment they had shewn him?

Ans. We see in their self-accusations both the force of conscience, and the advantage of the holy education Jacob gave his children, which, though not always void of offence, was still never totally extinguished; they revered the law, which condemned their actions. *We are verily guilty,* [*b*] said they one to another, *concerning our brother, and therefore is this distress justly come upon us.* Men can never entirely efface the sense, which God has impressed upon their hearts of his presence and justice. They will never

[*a*] Gen. xlii. 6. [*b*] Ibid. xlii. 21.

succeed

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succeed in persuading themselves, that sin is in its nature indifferent, or was not seen, or will remain unpunished. Their fears may be removed sometimes by the patience and silence of their judge, or the number of their accomplices; but when vengeance comes to shew itself, they shall be the first to own that they have deserved it, and their accomplices will then seem to them but as so many witnesses, who are ready to accuse and confound them.

III. *The second descent of Jacob's children into Egypt. Joseph made known to his brethren.* Gen. xliii, xliv, xlv.

When Jacob's children, upon their return, had told him all that had befallen them, the imprisonment of Simeon, and the express order they had received to carry Benjamin down into Egypt, the sorrowful news filled him with grief, and renewed his former concern for the loss of Joseph. He long refused to let his dear Benjamin go, in whom he placed his sole consolation. But at last, seeing there was a necessity for it, and that otherwise both must perish by famine, he consented to his departure upon the repeated assurances his other children gave him, that they would bring him back again. They all then set out together with presents for Joseph, and double the money they had found in their sacks.

Being come into Egypt, they presented themselves before Joseph. As soon as he saw them, and Benjamin with them, he said to the ruler of his house, Bring these men home, and slay, and make ready, for these men shall eat with me at noon. The steward executed Joseph's order, and brought them into his house. Surprised at this treatment, they imagined he had sought for an occasion against them, because of the money they had found in their sacks. They then began to justify themselves to the steward, by saying, they knew not how it came to pass, but as a proof of their honesty, they had brought back the money. The steward encouraged them, bidding

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them not be afraid; that their God, and the God of their fathers, had given them treasure in their sacks; but that for his part, he had their money. And straitway he brought out Simeon unto them. They had water then given them, and when they had washed their feet, they waited for the coming in of Joseph.

When Joseph came home, they bowed themselves to him to the earth, and offered him their presents. Joseph having graciously asked them of their welfare, said to them, Your father, the old man of whom you spake, is he yet alive? And they answered, Thy servant our father is in good health, he is yet alive. And at the same time they bowed themselves down to the earth again. Joseph casting his eyes upon Benjamin, And is this, says he, your younger brother, of whom ye spake to me? God be gracious, adds he to him, unto thee, my son. And Joseph made haste to go out; for the sight of his brother had affected him so much, that he could no longer refrain from tears. Presently after he returned to his brethren, and having ordered victuals to be brought in, he sat down to eat with them.

When Joseph had eaten with his brethren, he gave a secret order to his steward, to fill their sacks with corn, and to put every man's money in his sack's mouth; and put my silver-cup, says he, in the sack of the youngest. His steward obeyed, and the next morning they departed with their asses loaden with corn. But they were scarce got out of the town, before Joseph sent his steward after them, to charge them with stealing his cup. They were much surprised to find themselves accused of so base an action, which they had never so much as thought of. We brought back, said they, the money we found in our sacks' mouths, how then should we steal out of thy lord's house silver or gold? With whomsoever of thy servants it is found, let them die; and also we will be my lord's bondmen. The steward took them at their words; and searching their sacks, beginning with the eldest, the cup was found in Benjamin's sack.

They

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They returned to the city in great affliction, and went to throw themselves at Joseph's feet. After some reproaches, he told them, that he, in whose sack the cup was found, should continue his slave. Then Judah, having asked leave to speak, represented to Joseph, that if they returned to their father without bringing back with them the son he so tenderly loved, they should kill him with sorrow. I, adds he, became a surety for him with my father; let me therefore, I pray thee, abide in his stead a bondman to my lord: for I cannot return without him, lest I see the evil that shall come upon my father.

At these words Joseph could refrain himself no longer. He commanded all that were present to go out from him. Then the tears falling from his eyes, he cried aloud, and said to his brethren, I am Joseph. Does my father yet live? And they could not answer him, for they were troubled at his presence. He then spoke gently to them, and said, Come near to me. And as they came near, I am Joseph, says he, your brother, whom you sold into Egypt. Now therefore be not grieved and angry with yourselves, that you sold me hither; for God sent me before you to preserve life. So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God. Go, tell my father, that God hath made me lord of all Egypt. Let him make haste to come down, and he shall dwell near me: and I will nourish him and all his family, for there are yet five years more of famine. You see with your eyes, that it is I who am talking to you. Tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that you have seen, and make haste to bring him down hither. And when he had said thus, he fell upon Benjamin's neck, and embraced him with tears. And he kissed all his brethren, and after that they were encouraged to talk with him.

The news was soon spread through the whole court. Pharaoh expressed his satisfaction in it to Joseph, and bade him presently bring down all his family into Egypt. Joseph dismissed his brethren with provisions for their journey, and waggons to bring down their

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father, their wives and children. When they were come into the land of Canaan, they said to Jacob, Joseph your son is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt. Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not. But at last, when he had heard all that had past, and had seen the waggons, and the other presents his son had sent, he said it is enough; Joseph my son is yet alive, I will go and see him before I die. He soon after took his journey with all his family, and went down into Egypt. And when he had paid his respects to the king, Joseph placed him in the land of Goshen, the most fruitful part of Egypt, where Jacob lived seventy years.

REFLECTIONS.

Qu. Joseph's discovering himself to his brethren is the most affecting and tender part of his story, but is preceded by strange circumstances. In short, how can we reconcile his forgetfulness and indifference towards his father and brethren, whom he leaves exposed to the fatal consequences of a cruel famine, and the extreme severity he uses them with in calumniating and imprisoning them; how, I say, can we reconcile all this with that goodness and tenderness, which cannot help shewing itself at the very time that he is using them thus severely?

Ans. It is this seeming contradiction, which should let us see, that there is some mystery concealed under the outside of an action, which otherways might offend reason, and appear opposite to the sentiments which nature has implanted in the hearts of all mankind.

Joseph, sold by his brethren to the Egyptians, considered by Jacob as dead, forgotten by all his family, honoured in the mean time and ruling in Egypt, is incontestably the figure of Jesus Christ, delivered into the hands of the Gentiles by the Jews, generally renounced by his own nation, put to death by their cruel envy, owned and adored by the Gentiles as their Saviour and their King.

In

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In the first journey the children of Jacob made into Egypt, it is said, [c] *that Joseph knew his brethren, but was not known by them.* This is the condition of the Jews. By refusing to submit to Jesus Christ, they ceased to see him, but could not free themselves from his dominion. They read the scriptures, and there they find their Lord without knowing him. They saw him, and did not receive him. He spoke to them in parables, because they were unworthy to hear the mysteries which they refused to believe. But the veil will not always remain over their heart.

During the long interval their blindness lasts, they suffer a cruel famine, not of material bread, but as the prophet had foretold, of the word of God, which they are not allowed to understand. [d] *I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord.* The land of Canaan is condemned to a total sterility. The true bread of life is found only in Egypt. Whoever would live must necessarily go down thither; and till Benjamin, the last of Jacob's children, and the figure of the latter Jews, appears there in person, the famine will sorely afflict that wretched nation.

Hitherto Joseph shall appear to be hard-hearted towards his brethren. He shall speak to them as though he knew them not, with an angry voice and a rigid countenance. [e] *He made himself strange unto them, and spake roughly to them.* It is thus that Christ has long behaved towards an ungrateful and blind people. He appears not to know his brethren according to the flesh. He seems to have forgotten the fathers of a faithless and bloody generation.

Yet Joseph offered violence to himself in concealing his affection. He could not refrain from weeping; he was obliged to turn aside, to hide his face, and withdraw from time to time to vent his tears. The pains he took to conceal them, was the figure of that secret mercy hid in the bosom of God, and reserved till the time appointed in his eternal counsel. The

[c] Gen. xlii. 8. [d] Amos viii. 11. [e] Gen. xlii. 7.

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promises of God will be accomplished upon Israel; for his gifts are without repentance, and his truth endureth for ever. But a just severity suspends the effects of a clemency, which our groans, joined to those of the prophets, are to hasten.

Qu. Can Joseph be looked upon in any other circumstances of his life as the figure of Jesus Christ?

Ans. There are few saints of the Old Testament, in whom God has been pleased to express so many circumstances of resemblance with his Son as in Joseph. The bare repetition of them will be an evident proof of this observation.

PARTICULARS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN JESUS CHRIST AND JOSEPH.

JOSEPH.	JESUS CHRIST.
He is hated of his brethren.	He is hated by the Jews.
1. For accusing them of some great crime.	1. For reproving them for their sins.
2. For being affectionately beloved by his father.	2. For declaring himself to be the Son of God, and saying, that God himself called him his well-beloved Son.
3. For foretelling his future glory.	3. For fortelling, that they should see him sitting at the right-hand of God.
He is sent by his father to his brethren at a distance.	He is sent by God his father to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.
His brethren conspire against his life.	The Jews form a design of putting him to death.
He is sold for twenty pieces of silver.	He is sold for thirty pieces of silver.
He is given up into the hands of strangers by his own brethren.	He is delivered up to the Romans by the Jews.

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His garment was dipped in blood.

The humanity he was clothed with, suffers a bloody death.

He is condemned by Potiphar, without any one's speaking in his behalf.

He is condemned, and no body speaks in his defence.

He suffers in silence.

He suffers all kind of injuries and punishments, without complaining.

Placed between two criminals, he foretels the advancement of the one, and the approaching death of the other.

Placed between two thieves, he foretels the one, that he should go into paradise, and lets the other die impenitent.

He lies three years in prison.

He lies three days in the grave.

He arrives at glory by sufferings and humiliations.

It behoved that Christ should suffer, and thus enter into his glory.

He is set over the house of Pharaoh, and over all Egypt.

He is made head of the church, and every creature is made subject unto him.

Pharaoh alone is above him.

He is above every creature, but subject to God as man.

He was called the Saviour of the world.

His name of JESUS signifies a saviour, and is indeed the only one by whom we can be saved.

All bend the knee before him.

Every creature must bow at the name of Jesus Christ.

The famine is in all lands; there is no bread but in Egypt, where Joseph governs.

Poverty and error are universal; truth and grace are found only in the church, where Jesus Christ reigns.

All

There

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All are sent back to Joseph by Pharaoh.	There is no salvation, no grace but by Jesus Christ.
All the neighbouring people come into Egypt to buy corn.	All nations are admitted into the church to obtain salvation.
Joseph's brethren come to him, own him, fall down before him, and are fixed in Egypt.	The Jews will one day return to Jesus Christ, own him, worship him, and enter into the church.

In all these applications, and I could add several others, is there any thing forced or constrained? Could pure chance have possibly thrown together so many resembling circumstances, so different, and at the same time so natural? I should as soon say, that the most finished and resembling portrait was also the effect of mere chance. It is plain, that an intelligent hand did purposely contrive and apply all these colours to make a perfect picture, and that the design of God in joining together so many singular circumstances in the life of Joseph, was to describe the principal lines in that of his son. We should therefore know the history of Joseph only by halves, if we stopped at the bare surface, without informing ourselves of the hidden and mysterious sense, wherein the most essential part of it consists, as Jesus Christ is the end of the law and of all the scriptures.

I beg the reader to observe, that though these particulars relating to Joseph and Jesus Christ are so extremely natural and alike, there is no mention made of their agreement either in the gospels, or the writings of the apostles; which shews, that besides the figures which are explained in the New Testament, there are others so plain and evident, that we cannot reasonably doubt of their containing also some mystery. But we must be very cautious and reserved upon this last kind, especially when we are instructing youth, and principally insist upon the figures of which Christ and his apostles have made the application.

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ARTICLE II.

THE MIRACULOUS DELIVERANCE OF JERUSALEM UNDER HEZEKIAH.

I SHALL treat of this fact only in the life of the holy king Hezekiah, as it is one of the most signal in Sacred History, and most proper to make us sensible of the omnipotence of God, and his watchfulness over those who place their confidence in him. And here I shall barely point out the principal circumstances, which the reader may see at large, if he consults the historical books, that give an account of it, and especially the prophecies of Isaiah, which contain a very clear and express prediction of it.

[*f*] Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, was set out from Nineveh with a formidable army, designing to destroy utterly the city of Jerusalem with its king and inhabitants. [*g*] He assured himself of victory, and insulted before-hand the God of Jerusalem, saying, he would treat him as he had done the gods of all the other cities and kingdoms he had conquered.

[*h*] He knew not that he was but an instrument in the hand of God, who called him by an hissing (as the scripture expresses it) from the end of the earth, not to destroy, but to correct his people.

All opposition gave way before the victorious arms of this prince; in a little time he made himself master of all the fortified places in the land of Judah. [*i*] Jerusalem was in great consternation. Hezekiah had taken all necessary measures to put the city in a condition to make a vigorous defence; but he relied only upon the divine assistance for its deliverance. [*k*] God had engaged himself by a solemn and fre-

[*f*] 2 Kings xviii. 13.
[*g*] Isa. x. 7, 15.
[*h*] Ibid. v. 26. vii. 11, x. 5, 6.
[*i*] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 8, 8.
[*k*] Isa. xxx.

quently

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quently repeated promise to defend the city against the assault of the king of Assyria, but upon condition that the inhabitants should depend only upon him, should remain quiet, and not seek aid from the king of Egypt. *In returning and rest shall ye be saved,* [*l*] said he to them, *in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.* [*m*] He had several times declared to them, that the strength of Egypt should turn to their shame and confusion. [*n*] To render this prediction still more sensible to them, he had obliged the prophet Isaiah to walk naked and barefoot through the midst of Jerusalem, declaring that such should be the fate of the Egyptians and Ethiopians.

The great men, the politicians, could not be satisfied to continue unactive, and rely upon the promise of God. [*o*] They collected a considerable sum of money, and sent deputies to the king of Egypt to implore his assistance. Several of them thought fit to retire into that country, in hopes of finding a secure retreat there against the evils with which they were threatened. God several times reproached them for it by his prophet, but always in vain. And the holy king Hezekiah incessantly repeated to them, [*p*] *The Lord will deliver us; Jerusalem shall not be delivered into the hand of the Assyrians.* But they hearkened not unto him.

[*q*] This holy king, fearing he had done wrong in breaking the treaty he had made with the king of Assyria, resolved, in order to have nothing to reproach himself with, and all possible right on his side, to make him entire satisfaction. He therefore sent ambassadors to Lachish, and said to him, I have offended, return from me; that which thou puttest on me I will bear. And the king of Assyria appointed Hezekiah to give him three hundred talents of silver, and thirty

[*l*] Isa. xxx. 15.
[*m*] Ibid. 1,—5.
[*n*] Ibid. xx. 1,—6.
[*o*] Ibid. xxx.
[*p*] 2 Kings xviii. 32. xix. 10.
[*q*] Ibid. xviii. 19.

talents

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talents of gold. This sum he raised with much difficulty, and sent it to him. There was reason to hope, that such a step would have disarmed the rage of Sennacherib; but he grew more haughty upon it, and adding perfidy to injustice, he sent immediately a large body of troops against Jerusalem, with orders to Rabshakeh, who commanded that detachment, to summon Hezekiah and the inhabitants to surrender, in the name of the great king, the king of Assyria. This officer discharged his commission in terms full of contempt for the king of Judah, and insults against the God of Israel. When Hezekiah heard it, he rent his clothes, put sackcloth upon his loins, and went into the house of the Lord; from whence he dispatched his principal officers to Isaiah, to tell him the insolent words of Rabshakeh. The prophet replied, You shall say thus to your master, Thus saith the Lord, Be not affraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land, and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.

[r] In the mean time Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, had sent messengers to Jerusalem, to assure the inhabitants that he was coming up to their relief. And soon after he arrived with his whole army, joined to that of the Egyptians. [s] Upon the first news that Sennacherib received of it, he resolved to march against him. But first he sent his ambassadors to Hezekiah with a letter full of blasphemies against the God of Israel. The holy king, in great affliction, went strait to the temple, spread forth this impious letter before the Lord, and represented to him in a lively and pathetic prayer, that it was against him they fought, that the glory of his name was affected, and that for this reason he presumed to ask a miracle of him, that all the kingdoms of the earth might know, that he alone was the Lord and the true God. In that

[r] Isa. xviii. 1, 3. [s] 4 Kings xix. 9, 34.

moment

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moment Isaiah sent to tell Hezekiah, that the Lord had heard his prayer, and the city should not even be besieged. Whom, says God, addressing himself to Sennacherib, hast thou reproached and blasphemed? Against whom hast thou exalted thy voice, and lift up thy hands on high? Even against the Holy One of Israel. Because thy rage against me, and the tumult is come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest.

[*t*] The king of Ethiopia, full of confidence in the number of his troops, thought that the sight of them would suffice to put the Assyrians to flight, and set Jerusalem free. He knew not the curse which God had denounced against him, for presuming to declare himself the protector and deliverer of Jerusalem and the people of God, as though both had been without hope or refuge, unless he had hastened to take upon him their defence. His army was cut to pieces. The slaughter was so great, and the flight so swift, that there was no person left to bury the dead. After this victory, the king of Assyria carried the war into Egypt itself. All there was in disorder and confusion. God had taken away counsel and prudence from the wise counsellors of Egypt, and mingled a perverse spirit in the midst thereof. He deprived their leaders of all strength and courage; so that they made no resistance, and the whole country lay exposed to the discretion of an avaricious and cruel prince, who carried away an infinite number of captives, as [*u*] Isaiah had foretold.

[*x*] When Sennacherib had returned with his victorious troops before Jerusalem, it is easy to imagine how great the consternation of the city must have been. They saw an immense army encamped at their gates, and all the neighbouring country covered with chariots of war. The enemy was preparing to lay siege to the city, and lift up their voice against mount Sion. The time of their destruction seemed to draw nigh; but it was that of divine mercy, and their deliverance.

[*t*] Isa. xviii. xix. [*u*] Ibid. xx. [*x*] Ibid. xxii. 1, 5, 7.

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That very night (which doubtless preceded the day appointed for a general attack) the angel of the Lord came into the camp of the Assyrians, and slew an hundred and fourscore and five thousand men. Sennacherib rising at the break of day, beheld the dead bodies, and immediately returned to Nineveh, where he was soon after slain by his own sons in the temple, and in the presence of his gods.

REFLECTIONS.

I. SENNACHERIB THE INSTRUMENT OF GOD'S WRATH.

[y] Isaiah, foretelling the departure of Sennacherib and his army, speaks of God in a manner suitable to the grandeur and majesty of the Almighty. He has only to give the signal, and set up the standard, and all the princes of the earth repair to it. All the kings of the world are but as flies in comparison of him. All their power is weakness in his sight. [z] He hisses for them, and they march. It was a great consolation to the faithful of those days, to know for certain that all the evils which befel them were ordained by divine providence; that God sent them as remedies, and not barely as punishments: that men were only the ministers of his justice; and that they were guided by his wisdom at the time they were thinking to gratify their own passions.

[a] It is God himself, that reveals to us the extravagant imaginations of Sennacherib, who being no more than a servant thinks himself the master, and not seing the hand which employs him, ascribes all to his own, and fears not to set himself in the place of God. Can the instrument, says God, boast itself against the artist who makes use of it? Does the work properly belong to the instrument or the workman? Is it not the height of folly, that the instrument should

[y] Isa. vii. 18. x. 5.
[z] *The Lord shall hiss for the fly —and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria.* Isa. vii. 18.
[a] Ibid. x. 7,—15.

rise

rise up against the hand and understanding that employ it? Yet thus did the king of Assyria think and act.

II. THE GREAT MEN APPLY TO THE KINGS OF ETHIOPIA AND EGYPT.

We see here how dangerous it is to prefer the views of human prudence to those of faith. God had promised to deliver Jerusalem, provided the inhabitants would keep themselves quiet, and place their sole confidence in him. Here they were to fix. But the assistance of God was invisible, and seemed at a distance. The danger was present and augmenting daily. The succours of Egypt were nigh at hand, and seemed certain. According to all the rules of human policy, nothing ought to have been omitted towards obtaining the protection of two such powerful kings, as those of Egypt and Ethiopia. Besides, would it not be tempting God, to expect a miracle? And in the extreme danger they were, would it not be folly to continue unactive? The event will shew, whether these politicians or Hezekiah reasoned most justly.

III. THE IMPIOUS SPEECHES, AND BLASPHEMING LETTER OF SENNACHERIB.

[b] The Speeches and Letter of Sennacherib with reason appear impious, senseless, and detestable in the mouth of a worm against the majesty of heaven. This prince, blinded by his success, and not knowing whence it arose, entertained the same notions of the God of Judah, as of all the other gods, whose power, in his opinion, was confined to certain regions, and some particular effects, and were capable of being entirely overthrown, notwithstanding their divinity. He saw nothing in the God of Israel to distinguish him from the multitude of gods he had conquered. His empire was inclosed within the narrow limits of a small country, and confined to the mountains. His name

[b] 2 Kings xix.

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was scarce known among the neighbouring nations. This God had already suffered the ten tribes to be carried away by the kings of Nineveh. He had just lost all the fortified places of the tribe of Judah, which alone was left him; and all his dominions, all his people, all his worshippers, and his whole religion were reduced to a single city, in all outward appearance without any power to secure itself from the destruction, which Sennacherib looked upon as inevitable.

It is admirable to see in what manner God is pleased to confound the insolent pride of this prince, who caused himself to be called the great king, the king by way of excellence; who considered himself as an invincible conqueror, as the lord of the earth, and the subduer of men and gods. This prince, so proud and haughty, the God of Israel will treat as a wild beast; he will put a hook in his nose, and a bridle in his mouth, and turn him back with disgrace and infamy by the same way that he came triumphant and glorious. Such is the fate of human pride.

IV. THE DEFEAT OF THE KING OF ETHIOPIA.

It is easy to discern in the punishment of the king of Ethiopia the jealousy of the Lord of hosts against whomever pretends to be his rival, or to share with him in glory, by presuming to assist him in the preservation of his inheritance, or in freeing it from difficulties wherein his promises had too far engaged it; and in the sad fate of the Israelites, who had recourse to Egypt, we may plainly see the condemnation of all such, as either doubt of the promises made to the church, whereof Jerusalem is certainly the figure, or who think that, under certain difficult and dangerous circumstances, they stand in need of human strength and wisdom.

V. THE ARMY OF THE ASSYRIANS CUT OFF BY THE DESTROYING ANGEL.

The short and plain manner, in which this wonderful event is related in the historical books, is truly

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worthy of the grandeur of God. *And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand.* With what ease can God bring down the pride of an haughty prince, destroy so many brave officers, and exterminate so numerous and formidable an army? It costs him but a blast: *I will send,* said he, *a blast upon him, and he shall return into his own land.*

But the sublimity that appears in the prophet's style, who foretold all the circumstances of this great event, is no less worthy the Divine Majesty, who here displayed his omnipotence in so wonderful a manner. With what noble ideas do the expressions of Isaiah present us? [c] When all seemed desperate, I will change the face of affairs in a moment, said the Lord, *it shall be at an instant, suddenly.* When the enemies of Jerusalem, who know not that they act by my commission, shall think themselves masters, I will make them as small as the dust in one night. I will scatter them as a whirlwind. They shall find no general in the morning, not one officer with his company; and the confidence they had that Jerusalem was theirs, shall be like the imagination of an hungry man in his dream, who thinks that he eats, but wakes and finds himself empty. *It shall even be as when a hungry man dreameth, and behold he eateth; and he awaketh, and his soul is empty.*

The senseless pride of Sennacherib, his impious blasphemies, awaken the Lord, who seemed as though he were asleep. And then they understand the full force and energy of those words, [d] *Now will I arise, now will I be exalted, now will I lift up myself.* From his throne and sanctuary upon mount Sion God sends forth thunder and lightning; from his altar in Jerusalem, the sacred furnace, where a perpetual fire burns to his glory, proceed avenging flames to devour

[c] Isa. xxix. 5, 8.

[d] Chap. xxxiij. 10. The French translation loses a great part of the beauty of this, by not repeating the word *now.* "Je me leverai maintenant, je signalerai ma grandeur, je ferai éclater ma puissance."

his

his enemies. [e] *Thus saith the Lord, whose fire is in Sion, and whose furnace is in Jerusalem.*

In effect, [f] Isaiah describes the surprising destruction of a whole army, offered up to the just vengeance of a jealous God so unworthily insulted, as a public and solemn sacrifice. The hand of the Lord, says the prophet, shall smite and scatter, and universally destroy. The terrible noise of his thunder shall be to him and his servants, whom he undertakes to defend, as an agreeable concert of tabrets and harps, and other instruments of music, which upon great feasts accompany the offering of sacrifice; and the Assyrians sacrificed to his vengeance shall be to him as a solemn victim.

VI. REASONS OF GOD'S PATIENCE IN BEARING WITH SENNACHERIB, AND HIS SLOWNESS IN THE DELIVERANCE OF JERUSALEM.

No one knows the designs of God before they are executed; and whilst they are accomplishing, it is impossible to point out where numberless events will end, whereof we can neither perceive the connexion, the uses, nor motives, and which seem to induce the necessity of universal ruin.

When the public evils began to shew themselves in the time of Hezekiah, they seemed to be extreme. When all the country was ruined, and the cities destroyed, those misfortunes were believed without resource, and incapable of remedy. But when Jerusalem saw the formidable army of the Assyrians at their gates, the famine and the pestilence raging within, and all human hope cut off by the defeat of the Ethiopians, who were coming up to their relief; it then seemed folly to expect a miraculous protection, since God had opposed all outward means of help, and declared in favour of the enemy.

A weak faith was incapable of supporting so long a trial, and those who had the strongest and most per-

[e] Isa. xxxi. 8, 9. [f] Ibid. xxx. 30, 32.

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severing, were astonished at the slowness wherewith God fulfilled his promises, and surprised at his patience in suffering all to perish, and be reduced almost to a condition of not being the better for his assistance. But it belongs not to the clay to judge of the time that is taken up in the fashioning it. The first strokes of the chisel do not polish a stone, or form a beautiful statue: nor is it a moderate fire that will melt and purify gold. God attends to his own wisdom and mercy, and not to the thoughts of man in compleating his works. He does not leave them imperfect, in compliance with their short views or impatience, he perseveres in his designs, though he despises not the groans and tears of his servants, till all that he has resolved is accomplished.

He then lays aside all the preparations, springs, and movements he made use of, to bring about his works. He stops the hands which he conducted; he suspends the action of the instruments, which are now no longer serviceable; he permits not the chisel to cut the figure that is thoroughly perfected; and he breaks in pieces abundance of materials, that were employed only for a season.

It was thus God dealt with Sennacherib: he used him as an instrument to correct his people, and purify Jerusalem. After he had reduced the city to a small number of righteous persons, who were deeply humbled under his afflicting hand, he then thought of punishing the blasphemies of that prince, whose pride had led him into impiety. *When the Lord had performed his whole work upon mount Sion, and on Jerusalem, then,* said he, *I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks.*

VII. TRUST IN GOD THE PREVAILING CHARACTER OF HEZEKIAH.

It is remarkable, that the Holy Ghost, the sole good judge of real merit, in drawing the character of so holy a prince as Hezekiah, rests satisfied with saying,

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ing, that he trusted in the Lord God of Israel. [g] The scripture adds, that he carried this virtue farther than any of the kings of Judah, who came after him, or went before him. Faith indeed was never put to so long and so severe a trial. All was against him. It looked like folly to wait any longer for the assist- of heaven, when all was desperate, and to refuse upon a single man's word either to submit to the king of Assyria, or to employ any foreign aid. But depending strongly upon the word of God, he continued firm, as though he had seen the Invisible, and relied upon the promise by firmly persisting in an unvariable hope, without suffering himself to be enfeebled by any of the most pressing motives. The event justified his conduct. When the protection of God was manifested at last by the entire destruction of the army of the Assyrians, he who the night before was looked upon by all as weak and senseless, became on a sudden in the eyes of the same judges the wisest man in the world, for having trusted in the Almighty. Thus it will always be, and whosoever shall put their trust in God, shall never be confounded.

VIII. THE DELIVERANCE OF JERUSALEM THE FIGURE OF THE CHURCH.

The principal advantage to be drawn from this history, is to compare what here befel Jerusalem with what has befallen the church in all ages, to see its dangers, its remedies, and the promise of a certain victory over all its enemies. One verse of the forty-seventh Psalm, which is undoubtedly prophetical, and respects this event, may assist us in making the comparison, *Walk about Zion, and go round about her, and tell the towers thereof.* It is the prophet that speaks in the name of the prince and the heads of the people, who after so sudden and miraculous a deliverance, exhorts the rest of the citizens to go round Je-

[g] 2 Kings xviii. 5.

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salem within and without, to be witness themselves of the good condition of the fortifications. See, said they to them, whether the enemy has made so much as one single breach, if they have broke down one tower, or can boast of any advantage gained over the vigilance and strength of him, who is the protector of it. [h] *Circumdate Sion, & circuite eam; numerate turres ejus.*

The church from its birth has been often attacked, besieged on every side, and to all outward appearance ready to perish. But all its enemies have had the fate of Sennacherib; and after many fears and troubles, her faith has remained always pure, her doctrine has prevailed over all errors, her foundations have been unshaken, and she has never been found to have suffered any loss, or been obliged to give up any of her tenets, or to depart from the ancient tradition which serves her as a rampart against new enemies that continually succeed one another.

Thus it will be in all ages, and it will be an equal misfortune to attack the church, or to despair of God's protection of it, and to think it stands in need of human succour to defend it. All those, who thought thus of Jerusalem, perished; but the faith of those, who waited for God's assistance, and did not doubt of his promises, saved them, and enriched them with the spoils of their enemies.

ARTICLE IV.

PROPHECIES.

WE may distinguish Prophecies into two sorts. Some are purely spiritual, and relate only to Jesus Christ and the church. Of this sort is the first and most ancient of all, when God, after Adam's fall, cursed the serpent, and declared that [i] the seed of the woman would bruise his head, *i. e.* the Saviour of the world, who should one day come to destroy the

[h] *So S. Jerome translates this verse.* [i] Gen. iii. 15.

power

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power of the devil. Such also were those of [k] Jacob, who specifies the time of the Messiah's coming; and of [l] Daniel, who points out in a very particular manner the express time of the Messiah's suffering, and the consequences of his death.

There are Prophecies of another kind, which we may call historical, that foretel temporal events; and these are usually predictions and types of other events, which are more important and spiritual. We have seen several of this sort in the history of Sennacherib, whereof the prophet Isaiah had long before specified abundance of circumstances, which are not to be met with in the historical books. There is another very famous prediction in the same prophet, concerning the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, who is expressly mentioned by name two hundred years before he was born, and foretelling the deliverance of the people of the Jews. It is easily discernible, that these two great events, which include almost all the Prophecies of Isaiah, the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem under king Hezekiah, and the conquest of Babylon, with the subsequent deliverance of the Jews in captivity there, were the figure and pledge of other events relating to religion.

One might refer to a third sort of Prophecies what I am now going to explain, whereof one part is purely historical, and the other purely spiritual. It is the famous prediction of Daniel, occasioned by the image made up of different metals. I chuse this in preference to the rest, as it peculiarly relates to a part of profane history, of which I shall soon treat.

THE PROPHECY OF DANIEL.

Occasioned by the Statue of different Metals.

WHILST Daniel was very young, the king of Babylon had a mysterious dream, of which he lost the distinct idea, but however preserved a con-

[k] Gen. xlix. 10. [l] Dan. ix. 24, 27.

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fused notion of it, that troubled him. He required therefore of the wise men of Babylon, that they should tell him what it was he had forgot, and withal give him the interpretation of it, under the penalty of being put to death, in case they failed: Daniel, who was included in the general order, with three young Hebrews, who were exposed to the same danger, had recourse to prayer, and learned [m] by divine revelation what he could not know by any natural means, and [n] all the wise men of Babylon had agreed was otherwise impossible to be known.

"Thou, O king, then, says Daniel to him, sawest, "and behold a great image: this great image, whose "brightness was excellent, stood before thee, and "the form thereof was terrible. This image's head "was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, "his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, "his feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest, "till that a stone was cut out without hands, which "smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron or "clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, "the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken "to pieces together, and became like the chaff of "the summer threshing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; "and the stone that smote the image became a great "mountain, and filled the whole earth."

To this first revelation Daniel added the interpretation of the dream. "Thou, O king, said he, art "this head of gold; and after thee shall arise another "kingdom inferior to thee, which shall be of silver; "and another third kingdom of brass, which shall rule "over the whole earth. And the fourth kingdom "shall be strong as iron; and as iron breaketh in "pieces and subdueth all things, shall it break in "pieces and bruise." He then explains what was meant by the feet being part of iron and part of clay, and thus goes on, "And in the days of these kings "shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which

[m] Dan. ii. 19, 28. [n] Ver. 11.

"shall

" shall not be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not " be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces " and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand " for ever."

This Prophecy of Daniel's has two parts, and may be considered as historical and spiritual. In the first he plainly points out the four great monarchies; of the Babylonians, where Nebuchadnezzar actually reigned; of the Medes and Persians; of the Greeks and Macedonians; and of the Romans; and the very order of their succession is a proof of it. In the second he describes the kingdom of Christ, or the church, in magnificent terms, which was to survive to the ruin of all the rest, and to subsist to all eternity.

A Christian master in explaining these Prophecies, should be very careful to make youth sensible of the evident proof they contain of the truth of their religion. From whence could Daniel learn this succession and order of different monarchies? [o] Who could discover to him the change of empires, but he who is Lord both of empires and the terms of their duration, who has fixed all things by his decrees, and reveals the knowledge of them to whom he pleases by a supernatural light?

As youth are also to be instructed in profane history, it will be expedient, upon occasion of the Prophecy I have just mentioned, to make them observe that the same prophet [p] has elsewhere described the four great monarchies under the figure of four beasts; and to dwell some time upon another prediction mentioned in the following chapter, relating to Alexander the Great, which is one of the clearest and most circumstantial in the whole scripture.

The prophet, [q] after having expressed the monarchies of the Persians and Macedonians under the figure of

[o] He changeth the times and the seasons, he removeth kings and setteth up kings: he revealeth the deep and secret things, and the light dwelleth with him. Dan. ii. 21, 22.

[p] Chap. vii.

[q] And behold a ram, which had two horns, and the two horns were high, but the one was higher than the other. . . And behold an he-goat came from the west, on the face

of two beasts, [r] thus clearly explains himself: "The ram, which thou sawest, having two horns, "are the kings of Media and Persia: and the rough "goat is the king of Grecia; and the great horn that "is between his eyes, is the first king."

What can the most obstinate incredulity object to a Prophecy so clear and evident as this? By what means did Daniel see that the empire of the Persians was to be destroyed by that of the Greeks, which was so absolutely improbable? How could he know the rapidity of Alexander's conquests, which he describes so beautifully by saying, [s] that he touched not the earth? *non tangebat terram.* How could he know [t] that Alexander would have no son to succeed him? that his empire would be divided into four principal kingdoms? that his successors would be of his own nation and not of his kindred? and that out of the ruins of a monarchy so suddenly raised, should be formed distinct estates in the east and west, the north and south?

In explaining this Prophecy to youth, they must not forget to observe to them what [u] Josephus the historian says upon the occasion of Alexander's entry into Jerusalem. This prince advanced towards the city in great indignation against the Jews, who had declared in favour of Darius, and assisted him with their troops. The high priest Jaddus, in consequence of a revelation which had been made him, went in procession to meet Alexander, cloathed in his pontifical robes, with all the other priests in their proper vestments, and the Levites in white. As soon as Alexander saw him, he bowed down himself to the ground before him, and

face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground. . . And when he was come close to the ram he was moved with choler against him. . . and cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him with his feet. Dan. viii. 3, &c.

[r] Ver. 20, 21.

[s] Ver. 5.

[t] And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion. . . , and his kingdom shall be broken and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven: and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled. Dan. xi. 34.

Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. Dan. viii. 22.

[u] Joseph. Hist. Jud. lib. 11. c. 8.

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worshipped the God whose minister he was, and whose venerable name he bore on his forehead. And whilst all around him were astonished at so surprising a spectacle, the king declared, that the king of the Jews had appeared to him in Macedonia, in the same habit his high-priest wore, had encouraged him to cross the Hellespont, and assured him he would march at the head of his army, and secure him the conquest of the Persian empire. Alexander surrounded by the priests, entered Jerusalem, went up into the temple, and offered sacrifices to God in the manner the high-priest directed. He then shewed him the book of Daniel, in which it was written, that a Grecian prince should destroy the empire of the Persians, which gave Alexander great satisfaction.

Though this were only a matter of bare curiosity, so agreeable and entertaining a piece of history, such evident and surprising Prophecies, might well deserve to be related to youth. But how much may it turn to the service of religion, to make them observe the wonderful harmony and connection it has pleased God to place between the different predictions of the prophets, whereof some, as I have already taken notice, are of use to confirm the rest, and all together form a degree of evidence and conviction, to which nothing can be added? And with this reflection I shall conclude this article concerning Prophecies.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE PROPHECIES.

If the prophets had only foretold events at a distance, mankind must have waited long, before they could know whether they were prophets or no, and they could have no authority during their lives.

If on the other side, they had foretold only events that were nigh at hand, they might have been suspected of coming at the knowledge of them by natural means, and there might have seemed the less reason to believe, that they spoke by the spirit of God.

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And if there had been no connection betwixt the near and remote events, by the predictions which were to be accomplished during the interval, the distance between the two extremes would have rendered their Prophecies useless, the first being forgot, and the last not expected.

By the accomplishment of the first the prophet acquired a just authority, and induced an expectation of the fulfilling of those that followed. These added to his authority an entire certainty, that his knowledge came from God, and that what was revealed, with reference to the most distant times, would as infallibly come to pass, as what had been foretold concerning times that were nearer. The public monuments attested what was already fulfilled, the memory of it was handed down to the children; and these connecting what fell out in their days with what had fallen out in the times of their fathers, left to their posterity a profound veneration for the prophets who had foretold it, and a firm confidence that all that was contained in the rest of their predictions would as certainly be accomplished.

Thus their books have deservedly been looked upon as divinely inspired. The proof was certain, and suited to the capacity of all mankind. They gave credit to what was to come from what they saw at present. They were persuaded the revelation came from God, because it was infallible, and passed all human understanding; and they would have made a quite contrary conclusion, if any of the events had not answered the prediction. "Hear now this word, that I speak in "thine ears," [x] said the prophet Jeremiah to a man that pretended to be sent from God, "and in the ears "of all the people. The prophets, that have been "before me and before thee of old, prophesied both "against many countries, and against great kingdoms "of war, and of evil, and of pestilence. The pro-"phet which prophesieth of peace, when the word of

[x] Jer. xxviii. 7, 8, 9.

"the

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" the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the pro-
" phet be known, that the Lord hath truly sent him."

This then was their rule; a rule plain and easy, as capable of being applied with certainty by the common people as persons of great abilities, and wherein it was not possible for either to mistake.

The little time their ordinary studies leave youth, does not admit a great number of historical or prophetical facts to be explained to them in any great extent. But if a judicious choice was made of them, and they were put upon reading some every year, and these attended with reflections suited to their understandings, this small number in my opinion, might very much contribute to inspire them with a great reverence for religion, give them a great taste for the holy scriptures, and teach them in what spirit, and with what principles they ought to read them when they shall have leisure.

PART III.

OF PROFANE HISTORY.

I SHALL follow the same order upon this head, as I have observed in treating Sacred History; that is, I shall first lay down some principles, which may be useful to direct youth in the study of Profane History; and afterwards apply them to some particular facts by reflections annexed.

CHAP. I.

RULES AND PRINCIPLES FOR THE STUDY OF PROFANE HISTORY.

THESE principles may be reduced to six or seven; to reduce this study to order and method: to observe what relates to usages and customs: to enquire particularly and above all things after the truth: to endeavour to find out the causes of the rise and fall of

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of empires, of the gaining or losing of battles, and events of the like nature: to study the character of the nations and great men mentioned in history: to be attentive to such instructions as concern moral excellency and the conduct of life: and lastly, carefully to note every thing that relates to religion.

SECT. I.

ORDER AND METHOD NECESSARY FOR STUDYING HISTORY TO ADVANTAGE.

ONE thing, which may very much contribute to the bringing this study into order and method, is to divide the whole body of an history into certain parts and intervals, which at once present the mind a kind of general plan of the whole history, point out the principal events, and shew us the series and duration of them. These divisions must not be too many, lest they throw us into confusion and obscurity.

Thus, the whole time of the Roman history, from Romulus to Augustus, which takes in seven hundred and twenty-three years may be divided into five parts.

An. U. C. 1. The first is the reigns of the seven kings of Rome, which lasted two hundred and forty-four years.

245. The second is from the establishment of the consuls to the conquest of Rome, and takes in an hundred and twenty years. It includes the establishment of the consuls, the tribunes of the people, the decemvirs, the military tribunes with consular power, the siege and conquest of Veii.

364. The third is from the sacking of Rome to the first Punic war, and takes in an hundred and twenty-four years. It concludes the conquest of Rome by the Gauls, the wars with the Samnites, and against Pyrrhus.

An. U. C. 488. The fourth is from the beginning of the first to the end of the third Punic war, and takes in an hundred and twenty years. It includes the first and

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and second Punic wars, the wars against Philip king of Macedon, Antiochus king of Asia, Perseus the last king of Macedon, the Numantines in Spain; and lastly, the third Punic war, which ended with the conquest and destruction of Carthage.

608. The fifth is from the destruction of Carthage to the change of the Roman republic into a monarchy under Augustus, and takes in an hundred and fifteen years. It includes the war of Achaia, and the destruction of Corinth; the domestic troubles raised by the Gracchi, the wars against Jugurtha, the allies, and Mythridates; the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, Cæsar and Pompey, Anthony and Octavius. This last war ended with the battle of Actium, (U C. 723.) and the sovereign authority of Octavius, who was afterwards surnamed Augustus.

I have already observed, in treating sacred history, the use we should make of chronology, and shall forbear to repeat what I have already said upon this subject.

Geography also is absolutely necessary for youth; and for want of learning it when they are young, abundance of persons continue ignorant of it all the rest of their lives, and expose themselves to mistakes upon this article, which make them ridiculous. One quarter of an hour regularly spent every day in this study is enough to make them perfect in it. After the general principles are explained to them, they must never be suffered to pass by any considerable town, or any river mentioned in their authors, without shewing their places in the maps. They must learn likewise to point out the situation of every city, with reference to other places that are spoke of. Thus they will say that Evreux lies west of Paris, Châlone upon Marne on the east, Amiens on the north, and Orleans on the south. They must trace the rivers from their source to the place where they throw themselves into the sea, or some greater river, and point out the considerable towns that lie in their passage. When they are tolerably well instrueted, they may be made to travel over a map,

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or may be taught by word of mouth, by asking them, for instance, what rout they would take to go from Paris to Constantinople, and so of the other provinces. To render this study less dry and disagreeable it would not be amiss to add to it certain short stories, which might serve to fix an idea of the towns more firmly in the minds of youth, and would teach them a great many curious matters as they went on. These are to be found in several geographical treatises, wrote in French; from which the masters may easily extract such as they shall judge most proper for youth.

SECT. II.

TO OBSERVE WHAT RELATES TO THE LAWS, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF COUNTRIES.

It is of no small consequence, whilst we are upon the study of history, to take notice of the different customs of countries, the invention of arts, the various manners of living, building, fighting, disposing of sieges, or defending of towns, of building ships, and sailing; the ceremonies of their marriages, funerals, and sacrifices; in a word, whatever relates to customs and antiquity. I shall have occasion to say more of this hereafter.

What I have hitherto taken notice of is, if I may so say, but the skeleton of history, the observations I am going to make are in a manner the soul of it, and contain the most useful part of this study.

SECT. III.

PRINCIPALLY TO ENQUIRE AFTER TRUTH.

That in which the most essential quality and most indispensable duty of an historian consists, points out at the same time what should be the principal care of every reader of history. [y] No body is ignorant

[y] Quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat; deinde, ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis L. 2. de Orat. n. 62.

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that an historian should above all things prescribe this rule to himself; To be free from all passion and prejudice; never to presume to advance any falshoods, and have always courage to speak the truth. Negligences in his style may be passed over, but want of sincerity is inexcusable; [z] and herein lies the difference between an history and a poem. As the principal end of a poem is to divert the reader, it necessarily shocks and offends him, if it wants art or elegance; whereas an history, however written, is always sure to give pleasure, if it is true, as it satisfies a desire natural to mankind, who are fond of knowing, and always curious to learn something new, but cannot bear to be put off with falshood instead of truth, or idle imaginations for real facts. Hence we see that historians, to gain credit with their readers, generally begin with professing an exact and scrupulous sincerity, equally exempt from love and hatred, hope and fear, as may be particularly observed in Sallust and Tacitus.

Truth therefore is to be sought for in history, before all things. Good writers justly endeavour to render it more agreeable, by the elegance and embellishments of language, and a judicious master will not fail to point out all the graces and beauties of an historian; but he will not suffer his scholars to be dazzled by a vain pomp of words, to prefer flowers to fruits, be less attentive to truth herself than her dress, and set a greater value upon the eloquence of an historian, than upon his exactness and fidelity in relating facts. Quintilian in the character he draws of a Greek historian, teaches us to distinguish thus in a few words. "The history of Clitarchus, says he, is valued for

[z] Intelligo te, frater, alias in historiâ leges observandas putare, alias poëmate: quippe cùm in illâ ad veritatem cuncta referantur, in hâc ad delectationem pleraque. Cic. l. 1. de Leg. n. 4, 5.

Orationi & carmini est parva gratia, nisi eloquentia sit summa: historia quoquomodo scripta delectat. Sunt enim homines naturâ curiosi, & quâlibet nudâ rerum cognitione capiuntur, ut quî sermunculis etiam fabellisque ducantur, Plin. Ep. 8. l. 5.

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" its style, and despised for its want of veracity." *Clitarchi probatur ingenium, fides infamatur.*

We must therefore caution youth to be upon their guard, when they read such histories as were written during the lives of the princes of whom they treat, as it seldom happens that they are dictated by truth, as the desire of pleasing him who distributes fortunes and honours may have had a share in them. The best princes are not always insensible to flattery, and there is a secret thirst of praise and glory implanted in all mankind, that ought to render such histories suspected. But if flattery makes an historian contemptible, detraction must make him odious. Both, [*a*] says Tacitus, are equally injurious to truth; but with this difference, we easily defend ourselves against the one, as it is hateful to all the world, and borders upon slavery; and we readily give way to the other, as it deceives us by a false image of liberty, and finds an agreeable admittance into the mind.

There are some historians, who, though very deserving in other respects, through the bad taste of the age they lived in, or too great credulity, have interspersed abundance of fables in their writings, as [*b*] Tully observes of Herodotus and Theopompus.

Such, for instance, is what the first reports of the birth of Cyrus, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. We excuse antiquity, [*c*] says Livy, for rather chusing to give us strange stories than true ones, and endeavouring to embellish and adorn the original of great towns and empires with such fictions as are more suitable to fable than history. But we must accustom youth in reading such sort of authors, to distinguish between the true and false; and must also tell them that reason and equity require that they should not reject all a writer says, because some things are

[*a*] Veritas pluribus modis infracta . . . libidine assentandi, aut rursus odio adversùs dominantes. . . Sed ambitionem scriptoris facilè averseris: obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur, quippe adulationi fœdum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. Tacit. l. 1. c. 1.

[*b*] L. 1. de Leg. n. 5.

[*c*] In Præf. l. 1.

false,

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false, nor believe all he relates without exception, because many things are true.

This love for truth, which ought to be inculcated as much as possible, may be of great service to preserve them from a bad taste, which was formerly very prevalent, I mean, that for romances and fabulous tales, which by degrees extinguish the love and taste of truth, and make the mind incapable of attending to such useful and serious lectures, as speak more to the reason than the imagination.

It is the peculiar felicity of our age, that as soon as they were supplied either with the translations of the famous writers of antiquity, or such modern works as merited their application, they presently abandoned all these fictions, and even rejected them with scorn; as being sensible, that nothing in reality could be a greater disgrace to human reason, which was intended to be [d] nourished with truth, than to feed upon the chimeras of an irregular imagination, and become the sport of it, by following it through all its extravagancies. And if at any time some works of this nature have been ventured into the public, to the glory of our times it may be said, that they have soon fallen into oblivion, neglected by all men of sense, and left to such frivolous people, as could be so idly amused.

SECT. IV.

TO ENDEAVOUR TO FIND OUT THE CAUSES OF EVENTS.

[e] POLYBIUS, who was as able at the pen as at the sword, and was no less a good writer than an excellent general, takes notice in several places, that the best manner of writing and studying history, is not to stop at the bare recital of facts, the gaining or losing a battle, the rise or fall of empires; but to search into the reasons, and join together all the circumstances and

[d] Naturâ inest mentibus nostris insatiabilis quædam cupiditas veri videndi. Tusc. Quæst. lib. 1. n. 44. Nihil est hominis menti veritatis luce dulcius. Acad. Quæst. lib. 4. n. 31.

[e] Poyb. Hist. lib. 3.

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consequences of them; to distinguish, if possible, the secret designs and hidden springs in each event; to go back to the original of things, and the most distant preparations; to distinguish the real causes of a war, from the specious pretences with which it is covered, and especially to note what has decided the success of an enterprise, the fate of a battle, and the ruin of a state. Without this, [*f*] says he, history gives the reader an agreeable spectacle, but conveys no useful instruction; it serves to satisfy his curiosity for a moment, but is of no consequence in the conduct of life.

He observes, that the war of the Romans in Asia, against Antiochus, was the consequence of that they had made before against Philip king of Macedon; that what gave occasion to this, was the good success of the second Punic war; of which the principal cause on the side of the Carthaginians, was the loss of Sicily and Sardinia: that therefore to form a just idea of the different events of these wars, they must not be considered separately and in parts, but viewed together, and their connections, consequences and dependencies well examined.

He observes in the same place, that it would be a gross mistake to imagine that the conquest of Saguntum by Hannibal was the real cause of the second Punic war. The regret of the Carthaginians for the too easy cession of Sicily by the treaty which concluded the first Punic war; the injustice and violence of the Romans, who took an opportunity from the commotions in Africa to dispossess the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and impose a new tribute upon them; and the successes and conquests of the latter in Spain, were the real causes of the rupture of this treaty; as Livy suggests in a few words, therein following the plan of Polybius, [*g*] at the beginning of his history of the second Punic war.

[*f*] Ἄγνωσμα μὲν μάθημα δὲ ἡδὺ ῥᾶστον. γίγνεται. καὶ φαινόμενα μὲν τέρπει, πρὸς δὲ μέλλον οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ τὸ φανέν.

[*g*] Liv. lib. 21. n. 1.

Polybius

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Polybius hence takes occasion to lay down a very useful principle for the study of history, which is to distinguish exactly three things, the beginnings, the causes, and the pretexts of a war. The beginnings are the first steps that are openly taken, and are the consequences of resolutions made in private; such was the siege of Saguntum. The causes are the different dispositions of men's minds, particular discontents, injuries received, and the hopes of success; such, in the fact we are speaking of, were the loss of Sicily and Sardinia joined to the imposition of a new tribute, and the favourable opportunity of so able and experienced a general as Hannibal. The pretexts are only a veil thrown over the real causes.

He illustrates this principle still farther by other examples. Can any one imagine, says he, that Alexander's irruption into Asia was the first cause of the war against the Persians? It was very far from it; and to be convinced of this, we need only consider the long preparations that preceded this irruption, which was the beginning and declaration of the war, but not the cause of it. Two great events had given Philip cause to believe that the power of the Persians, which was once so formidable, was tending to a declension; the glorious and triumphant return of the ten thousand Greeks under the conduct of Xenophon, through the midst of the enemies armies and fortresses, whilst the victorious Artaxerxes did not dare to oppose the bold resolution they had taken of marching in a body through his whole empire into their own country; and the generous undertaking of Agesilaus king of Lacedæmon, who with an handful of men carried the war and terror into the heart of Asia Minor, without finding any resistance, and stopped only in his conquests by the divisions of Greece. Philip comparing this negligence and supineness of the Persians with the activity and courage of his Macedonians, animated with the hope of glory and the advantages he should certainly reap from the war, after having united in his favour with incredible address the opinions and suf-

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frages of Greece, urged as the pretext of his invasion, the ancient injuries the Greeks had received from the Persians, and laboured with indefatigable application in making preparations for the war, which his son Alexander, who succeded to his projects as well as his kingdom, happily employed to put them in execution. The weakness and negligence of the Persians therefore were the real cause of the war, their former attempts upon the liberty of Greece the pretext, and Alexander's march into Asia the beginning of it.

In like manner he traces the apparent pretexts and real causes of the war between the Romans and Antiochus.

[*h*] Dionysius of Halicarnassus lays down the same principles with Polybius. He declares in several places, that if we would derive the advantage from history, which may reasonably be expected, and make it of use in the management of public affairs, our curiosity must not be confined to facts and events; but we must enquire into the reasons of them, study the means which make them succeed, enter into the views and designs of those that conducted them, carefully examine the success which God gave them, (remarkable words for an heathen author) and neglect none of the circumstances which had any important share in the enterprises in question.

Can any man of curiosity and understanding, [*i*] says he in another place, be satisfied with knowing that in the war with Persia the Athenians and Lacedemonians gained three victories, two by sea, and a third by land; and with an army of but a hundred and ten thousand men, at most, conquered the king of Persia at the head of above three hundred thousand? Will he not also desire to know the places where these battles were fought, the causes which made the victory incline to the side of the lesser number, and produced so surprising an event; the names and characters of

[*h*] Dion. Halicarn. lib. 5. Antiq. Roman.

[*i*] Lib. 11. Antiq. Roman.

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the principal officers who distinguished themselves on both sides; in a word, all the memorable circumstances and consequences of so considerable an action? For, adds he, it is a great pleasure to a man of sense and judgment, who reads an history written in this manner, to be led as it were by the hand from the first entrance upon every action to the conclusion of it; and instead of being a bare reader, to become in a manner the witness and spectator of all that is told.

M. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, [k] observes likewise in his discourse upon universal history, that we must not only consider the rise and fall of empires, but must also examine thoroughly the causes of their progress, and the reasons of their declension. "For, "says he, the same God, who has hung the world together as it were upon chains, and almighty as he "is, hath thought fit for the establishment of order, "that the several parts of this great whole should depend upon one another; the same God has been "pleased, so to direct the course of human affairs, "as to have their dependencies and proportions. I "mean, that men and nations have had qualities "suited to the elevation for which they were designed; and except in some extraordinary cases, "wherein God thought fit that only his own hand "should appear, there have happened no great alterations, which have not had their causes in the "preceding ages. And as in all affairs there is something that makes way for them, that determines to "the undertaking of them, and makes them succeed, "the true knowledge of history is to observe at all "times the secret dispositions which made way for "great changes, and the important conjunctures "which brought them to pass. In short, it is not "enough to see only what is before our eyes, I mean "to take a present view of the great events which in "an instant determine the fate of empires: whoever "would thoroughly understand human affairs, must "go farther back, and observe the prevailing incli-

[k] Chap. i.

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"nations and manners, or to say all in a word, the "character both of the people in general, and of "princes in particular; and lastly, of all the extra- "ordinary persons, who through the importance of "the station they bore in the world, have contri- "buted well or ill to the revolutions of states and "fortune of the public."

This last reflection naturally leads us to what I have said we must in the fifth place take notice of in studying history.

SECT. V.

TO STUDY THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE AND GREAT MEN MENTIONED IN HISTORY.

For what regards the character of nations, I cannot do better than refer the reader to the remarks M. Bossuet has made upon that subject in the second part of his discourse upon universal history. That work is one of the most admirable performances that has appeared in our age, not only for the beauty and sublimity of style, but still more for the greatness of the topics, the solidity of the reflections, the profound knowledge of mankind, and its large extent, as it takes in all ages and all empires. We see there, with infinite pleasure, all the nations of the world pass in a kind of review before our eyes, with their good and evil dispositions, their manners, customs, and different inclinations; Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Medes, Greeks, and Romans. We there see all the kingdoms of the world rising as it were out of the earth, gradually growing powerful by almost an insensible increase, extending at last their conquests on every side, arriving by different means to the height of human greatness, and falling at once from that height by sudden revolutions, and lost as I may say, and sunk into that nothing from whence they sprung. But what is still more worthy our attention, we find in the manners themselves of the several nations, in their characters, virtues and vices,

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vices, the causes of their grandeur and destruction. We learn there, not only to discover the secret and hidden sources of human politics, which give motion to all actions and enterprises; but to discern withal a sovereign Being, watching and presiding over all, directing and conducting every event, and disposing and absolutely deciding the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world. I cannot therefore too much exhort those who are entrusted with the education of youth, to read and study this excellent book with attention, which is so capable of forming at once both the understanding and the heart; and, after they have studied it well themselves, to endeavour to inspire their pupils with a taste for it.

What I have said of nations, may also be understood of the great and illustrious men, who have been distinguished for the good or ill they have wrought in states. We must diligently apply ourselves to study their genius, natural inclinations, virtues and faults, particular and personal qualifications; in a word, that peculiar turn of mind and course of conduct that prevails in them, and forms their character; for that is properly to know them. Otherwise we see only the surface and outside of them; and men are not to be known and judged only by their dress and countenances.

Neither must we expect to know them principally from such of their actions, as to make the most glorious figure. When they set themselves up to public view, they may dissemble and lie under a restraint, by assuming for a time the visage and mask, which suits best with the character they are to support. They shew themselves what they are, in private, in the closet, and at home, when they are unreserved, and without disguise. It is there they act and talk, as nature dictates. It is in this manner we should chiefly study great men, if we would pass a right judgment upon them; and it is the inestimable advantage we find in Plutarch, and that wherein he may be said to excel all other historians. In the lives he has left us of the illustrious

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illustrious men among the Greeks and Romans, he descends to particulars, which give us infinite pleasure. He is not satisfied with shewing us the general, the conqueror, the statesman, the magistrate, or the orator; he lays open the inside of the house to his readers, or rather the heart of the persons he speaks of, and lets us see in them the father, the husband, the master, and the friend. We seem to live and discourse with them, to share in their amusements and diversions, to assist at their meals and in their conversations. [*l*] Tully says somewhere, that he could not take one step in Athens, and the neighbouring places, without meeting with some ancient monument of history, which awakened the remembrance of the great men, who formerly lived there, and in some measure set them before his eyes. Here was a garden, where the footsteps of Plato seemed still to remain, here he used to walk and discourse of the gravest points of philosophy; there was the place of the public assemblies, where Æschines and Demosthenes seem still to plead against each other; and one would imagine the voice of the Greek orator was still to be heard on the shore, where he learned to overcome the tumultuous noise of public meetings by surmounting that of the waves. The reading the lives of Plutarch seems in my opinion to produce a like effect, by rendering the great men he speaks of in a manner present, and giving us as lively an idea of their customs and manners, as if we had lived and conversed with them. We know more of the genius, spirit, and character of Alexander from Plutarch's very short abridgment of it, than from the very long and particular histories of Quintus Curtius and Arrian.

[*l*] Quacunque ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus. Usu autem evenit, ut acriùs aliquanto & attentiùs de claris viris, locorum admonitu, cogitemus . . . velut ego nunc moveor. Venit enim mihi Platonis in mentem, quem accepimus primùm hîc (in Academiâ) disputare solitum: cujus etiam illi hortuli propinqui non memoriam solùm mihi afferunt, sed ipsum videntur in conspectu meo hîc ponere, &c. Lib. 5. de Finib. n. 4, &c.

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This exact knowledge of the characters of great men makes an essential part of history; and it is for this reason that good historians are usually careful to give an express and general idea of the good or ill qualities of the principal persons they speak of. Of this kind are the characters of Catiline, Marius, and Sylla, in Sallust; of Furius Camillus, Hannibal, and a great many others, in Livy.

It is by studying attentively the prevailing dispositions both of nations in general, and their commanders in particular, that we are able to form a judgment of their designs, actions, and enterprises, and may even foretel the consequence. Philopemen, an officer of excellent understanding, observing on the one hand the carelessness and negligence of Antiochus, who was amusing himself at feasts and weddings; and on the other, the diligence and indefatigable activity of the Romans, made no difficulty in foretelling on which side the victory would fall. Polybius is very careful, by the wise reflections he makes in several parts of his history, to excite the attention of the reader to take notice of the personal qualifications of the great men he writes of, and to observe that the Roman conquests were the effects of schemes concerted at a distance, and conducted by such means, as with the abilities of their generals could scarce possibly fail of success. It was from this profound study of the genius and character of mankind, from a thorough enquiry into the nature and constitution of the different kinds of government, and the natural causes which in course of time change the form of them; and lastly, by serious reflections upon the present state of affairs and disposition of men's minds, that the same historian, in the sixth book of his history, has carried the sagacity of his conjectures and foresight so far as to declare, that sooner or later the republic of Rome would again be changed into a monarchical government. When I come to speak of the Roman history I shall give an extract and summary of this passage of Polybius.

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Polybius, which is one of the most curious and remarkable of all antiquity.

SECT. VI.

TO OBSERVE IN HISTORY WHAT RELATES TO MORALITY AND THE CONDUCT OF LIFE.

THE observations I have already mentioned are not the only ones to be made, nor the most essential; such as relate to the regulation of manners are still more important. "The greatest advantage," says Livy in his excellent preface, "arising from the knowledge "of history is, that you may see there examples of "every kind set in the clearest light. You have pat-"terns for your imitation both in your own private "conduct, and in the administration of public af-"fairs; you find there also such actions as flow "from corrupt principles, fatal in their event, and "for that reason to be avoided." *Hoc illud est præcipuè in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuæque reipublicæ, quod imitare, capias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites.*

The case is near the same with the study of history as with travelling. [*m*] If it be confined barely to the passing over countries, the visiting of cities, the examining the beauty and magnificence of the buildings and public monuments, where is the mighty advantage attending it? Does it make a man wiser, more regular, or temperate? Does it remove his prejudices, or correct his errors? The novelty and variety of these objects may amuse him for a time, like a child, and he may gaze upon them with a stupid admiration. But if this be all, it is not to travel, but wander, and to lose both his time and trouble. *Non est hoc peregrinari, sed errare.* It is said of Ulysses, that he visited abundance of cities, but not till after it had been ob-

[*m*] Senec. Epist. 410.

served,

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served, that he applied himself to study the manners and genius of the people.

[n] *Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes.*

The ancients made long and frequent voyages, but it was with a view to instruct; to visit mankind, to improve from their wisdom and knowledge.

Such is the use we ought to make of history. We stand in need of instructions and examples to induce us to the practice of virtue amidst the dangers and obstacles which surround it; and history supplies us with these of every kind. It is thence the sentiments of honour and probity are derived; [o] *Hinc mihi ille justitiæ haustus bibat.* We must carefully study the actions and speeches of the great men of antiquity, and make it our business seriously to digest them.

[p] When Tully endeavours to incline his brother Quintus to kindness and moderation, he puts him in mind of what he had read in Xenophon concerning Cyrus and Agesilaus. [q] He tells us it was the use he himself made of what he had read in his youth, and history had taught him to suffer the utmost extremities, and despise all dangers for the service of his country. "How many models of virtue, says he, are "left us by the Greek and Latin writers, which are "not laid before us only to be looked on, but to be "imitated? And by studying them incessantly, and "endeavouring to copy after them in the manage-"ment of public affairs, have I formed my mind and "heart, upon the idea of those great men, whose pic-"tures are so admirably drawn in their writings." *Quàm multas nobis imagines, non solùm ad intuendum, verùm etiam ad imitandum, fortissimorum virorum expressas, scriptores & Græci & Latini reliquerunt? quas ego mihi semper in administrandâ republicâ proponens, animum & mentem meam ipsâ cogitatione hominum excellentium confirmabam!*

[n] Horat. de Arte Poet.
[o] Quint. l. 12. c. 2.
[p] Epist. 2. ad Quint.
[q] Pro Arch. Poet. n. 14.

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We must therefore in teaching youth history, be very careful to make them derive from it one of its principal advantages, which is the regulation of their manners; and to this end we must from time to time introduce short reflections; ask them their own judgment upon the actions they read; accustom them especially not to suffer themselves to be dazzled by a vain outward shew, but to judge universally according to the principles of equity, truth and justice; and raise in them an admiration for the modesty, frugality, generosity, disinterestedness, and love for the public good, which prevailed in the happy times of the Greek and Roman republics. When youth are thus timely modelled, and accustomed from their infancy to the study of history to admire examples of virtue, and abhor vice, we may hope that these early seeds, assisted by a superior aid, without which they would soon miscarry, may in due time bring forth good fruit; and that something might happen to them like what is told of a scholar of Plato's, whom the philosopher had trained up with great care in his own house. When he returned home, and saw his father break out into a violent transport of passion, he stood in amaze, "I "never saw any thing like this, says he, at Plato's." *Apud Platonem educatus puer, cum ad parentes relatus, vociferantem videret patrem: Nunquam, inquit, hoc apud Platonem vidi.*

SECT. VII.

CAREFULLY TO OBSERVE EVERY THING THAT RELATES TO RELIGION.

I HAVE one observation more to make upon the study of history, which consists in carefully observing whatever relates to religion, and the great truths which are necessarily dependent upon it. For amidst the confused chaos of ridiculous opinions, absurd ceremonies, impious sacrifices, and detestable principles, which idolatry, the daughter and mother of ignorance and corruption of heart, has brought forth, to the reproach of

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of human reason and understanding, there are still to be discerned some precious remains of almost all the fundamental truths of our holy religion. We find in it particularly the existence of a Being supreme in power, and supremely just, the absolute Lord of kings and kingdoms, whose providence rules all the events of this life, whose justice prepares for the next the rewards and chastisements that are due to the righteous and the wicked; and lastly, whose all-piercing eye sees into the inmost recesses of our souls, and fills them with trouble and confusion, whether we will or no. But as I have already treated of this subject more at large in the preliminary discourse prefixed to the first volume, I shall dwell no longer upon it here.

These, in my opinion, are the principal observations youth should be directed to make, whilst they are studying history, taking care at the same time to proportion them to their age and capacity, and never proposing any reflections to them they are not capable of comprehending. I shall now proceed to apply these general principles to particular examples in the clearest and most intelligible manner in my power.

CHAP. II.

THE APPLICATION OF THE FOREGOING RULES TO SOME PARTICULAR FACTS IN HISTORY.

IN making the application of the principles I have here laid down, I shall select, first from the history of the Persians and Greeks, and then from that of the Romans, certain portions and particular facts, to which I shall add some reflections.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

THE first piece taken from the history of the Persians.

CYRUS.

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CYRUS.

I shall divide what I have to say concerning Cyrus into three parts; his education; his first expeditions; the taking of Babylon, and his conquests. I shall relate only the most important circumstances of these events, and such as appear to me most proper for the instruction of youth. These I shall extract from Xenophon, whom I take here for my guide, as the author most worthy of credit upon this article.

I. THE EDUCATION OF CYRUS. *Cyrop. lib.* 1.

Cyrus was the son of Cambyses king of Persia, and Mandane the daughter of Astyages king of the Medes. [r] He was beautiful in his person, but far more estimable for the excellent endowments of his mind. He was exceeding courteous and humane, desirous of learning, and ardent for glory. He never feared any danger, nor shunned any labour where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up after the custom of the Persians, which at that time was admirable.

The public good, and general utility was the principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was considered as the most important duty and essential part of the government. The care of it was not entrusted to fathers and mothers, whom a blind and tender indulgence often rendered incapable of it; the state charged itself with it. They were brought up together, and in the same manner. They did nothing but by rule; the place and duration of their exercises were fixed, the time of their meals, the quality of what they were to eat and drink, the number of their masters, and the different kinds of correction. Their whole food, as well for children as young men, was bread, and cresses, and water; for their view was to habituate them early to temperance and sobriety; and besides, this sort of simple and frugal food, without

[r] Εἶδος μὲν κάλλιος ψυχὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος, φιλομαθέστατος, καὶ φιλοτιμότατος.

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any mixture of sauces and ragoos, strengthened their bodies, and laid a foundation of health capable of supporting the severest fatigues of war till they grow old, [s] as is observed of Cyrus, who found himself as strong and robust in his old age, as he was in his youth. They learned justice in schools, as in other places they do literature; and ingratitude was the crime they punished most severely.

The view of the Persians in all these wise institutions was to be beforehand with evil, as they were persuaded that it was better to prevent faults than punish them; and whereas in other nations they were contented with inflicting punishments upon criminals, the Persians endeavoured in a manner to hinder there being any criminals amongst them.

They continued in the class of children till they were sixteen or seventeen years old; they then entered the class of youths. They were then laid under the greatest restraints, as that age stood most in need of them. They spent ten years in this class. During this interval, they were every night upon guard, as well for the security of the city, as to inure them to fatigue. In the day-time they went to receive orders from their governors, attended the king when he went a hunting, or applied themselves to their exercises.

The third class was formed of men grown, and there they continued five and twenty years. From hence were taken all the officers, that were to command in the troops, and fill the different posts, employments, and dignities of the state. And hence they passed into the last class, from whence the wisest and most experienced were chosen to form the public council.

By these means every citizen might aspire to the first offices of the state; but none could arrive at them, till they had passed through these different classes, and became capable of them by all these exercises.

[s] Cyrus non fuit imbecillior in senectute, quam in juventute. Cic. de Senect. n. 30.

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Cyrus was brought up in this manner till he was twelve years old, and always excelled his equals, both in facility of learning, in courage, and dexterity in executing whatever he undertook. His mother Mandane then carried him into Media to visit his grandfather Astyages, who had heard so much of the fame of this young prince, that he was very desirous of seeing him. He found the manners of the Median court very different from those of his own country. Pomp, luxury, and magnificence universally prevailed. He was not at all dazzled with it, and without criticising or condemning it, he stood firm to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his wit and vivacity, and gained all hearts by his noble and engaging carriage, of which I shall relate a single instance, from which we may form a judgment of the rest.

Astyages, to make his grandson think no more of returning into his own country, prepared a sumptuous entertainment, in which he spared for no expence, either as to the quantity or the quality and delicacy of meats. Cyrus looked upon all these preparations with a great deal of indifference. And as Astyages seemed very much surprised at it; The Persians, says he, instead of so many turnings and windings to satisfy their hunger, take a much shorter way to the same end; a little bread and cresses will do it at any time. His grandfather giving him leave to dispose of the dishes that were served up as he thought fit, he distributed them immediately among such of the king's officers as were present; to one he gave, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he served Astyages well; to a third, because he was very careful of his mother. Sacas, Astyages's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides his place of cup-bearer, had the post of introducing such as were to have audience of the king; and as it was not possible for him to grant this favour to Cyrus as often as he required it, he had the misfortune to displease the young prince, who expressed his resentment upon this occasion.

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occasion. Astyages seemed uneasy that he had offered this affront to an officer, for whom he had a particular esteem, and who deserved it for his wonderful address in discharging his office; "And is that enough, papa, "answers Cyrus, to merit your favour? then I should "soon have obtained it; for I'll answer for it, I can "serve you better than he." The little Cyrus was immediately equipped in the habit of a cup-bearer. He advances gravely with a serious air, and a napkin thrown over his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely on three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and grace, that charmed Astyages and Mandane. When this was done, he threw his arms around his grandfather's neck, and kissing him cried out with great joy, "O Sacas, poor Sacas, thou art "undone, I shall have thy place." Astyages was mightily pleased with him; "And well, says he, my "boy thou shalt have it; nobody can serve me better. "But you have forgotten one part of the ceremony, "which is to taste of it before you give it." It was, it seems the custom for the cup-bearer to pour out a little of the liquor into his left hand, and taste it, before he presented the cup to the king. "It was not "through forgetfulness, answered Cyrus, that I did "not so." "What then, says Astyages!" "It was "because I apprehended the liquor to be poison." "Poison! how so?" "Yes indeed, papa: for it is "not long since I took notice, at an entertainment "you gave the lords of your court, that after they "had drank a little of that liquor, all their heads "were turned. They bawled and sung, and talked "like madmen. You yourself seemed to have for-"got that you were king, and they, that they were "your subjects. At last, when you got up to dance, "you could not stand without staggering." "How, "replies Astyages, does not the same thing happen "to your father?" "Never, answered Cyrus." "How then?" "Why, when he has drank, he is no "longer thirsty, and that's all."

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His mother Mandane being upon the point of returning into Persia, he cheerfully complied with the repeated instances of his grandfather to continue in Media, because he said, as he did not ride well enough yet, he might have time to perfect himself in that exercise, which was not practised in Persia, the dryness of the soil, and mountainous situation of the country not admitting the breeding of horses.

During this interval that he passed at court, he gained the esteem and love of all mankind. He was mild, affable, obliging, good-natured, and liberal. If the young lords had any favour to beg of the king, he solicited it for them. If there was any cause of complaint against them, he was their mediator with the king. He made their business his own, and managed so well, that he always obtained what he desired.

Cambyses recalling Cyrus to complete the time allotted for the finishing of his exercises in Persia, he immediately set forward on his journey, that his delay might neither give his father, nor his country, any cause to complain of him. It then appeared how tenderly he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all the world; those of his own age, young men and old, all attended him. Astyages went with him on horseback a considerable way, and when he was obliged to take his leave, the whole company broke out into tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into Persia, where he continued one year more in the class of children. His companions expected to find a great alteration in his manners, after having spent so much time in so voluptuous and splendid a court as that of Media. But when they saw he was contented with their ordinary table, and upon days of feasting was more sober and reserved than any of them, they looked upon him with new admiration.

He passed from this first class into the second, which is that of the young men; where he shewed that he had not his equal in address, patience and obedience.

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REFLECTIONS.

I shall not attempt to make any reflections upon the preceding story; they offer themselves in abundance to the reader, and cannot escape the view of the most dim-sighted. We see here how much a masculine, robust, and vigorous education contributes at the same time to strengthen the body, and enlarge the mind; and that the best means for young gentlemen of quality to acquire esteem and affection, is not by assuming airs of grandeur, but by a civil and obliging deportment. I cannot but take notice how artfully the historian has introduced the excellent lecture he has given against drunkenness. He might have done it in a grave and serious manner, and with the air of a philosopher; for Xenophon, as much a soldier as he was, was no less a philosopher than Socrates his master. Instead of this, he puts it into the mouth of a child, and disguises it under the veil of a little story, told in the original with all the spirit and prettiness imaginable. I do not doubt, but it is wholly his own invention; and it is in this sense, in my opinion, we should understand what [t] Tully says of this admirable work; That the author has not pretended to follow the strict rules of truth and history, but designed to give princes in the person of Cyrus a perfect model of the manner in which they ought to govern their subjects. *Cyrus ille à Xenophonte non ad fidem historiæ scriptus, sed ad effigiem justi imperii.* That is, he has added to the substance of the history, which is very true in itself, as I shall soon have occasion to observe, some particular circumstances, to exalt its beauty, and serve for the instruction of mankind. Such is, in my opinion, the history of the little Cyrus turned cup-bearer, which shews how dishonourable drunkenness is to princes, far better than all the precepts of philosophers.

[t] Ad Qu. Fratr. lib. 1. Ep. 1.

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II. THE FIRST EXPEDITIONS AND CONQUESTS OF CYRUS. *Cyrop. lib.* 1, *&c.*

Astyages king of the Medes being dead, his son Cyaxares, brother to Mandane the mother of Cyrus, succeeded him. He was scarce settled upon the throne, before he found himself engaged in a terrible war. He received advice that the king of the Assyrians was raising a powerful army against him; that he had already drawn over several other princes to espouse his quarrel, and among the rest Crœsus king of Lydia. He immediately dispatched an embassy to Cambyses to demand his assistance, with orders to desire that Cyrus might have the command of the army that should be sent to his aid. They obtained their request without much difficulty. The young prince was then in the class of men grown, after having passed ten years in the second. The joy was universal, when it was known that Cyrus was marching at the head of the army. It consisted of thirty thousand foot, for the Persians had then no horse; besides a thousand young officers, the choice of the nation, who marched as volunteers, from a particular attachment they had to the person of Cyrus.

He set forward, without losing any time, but not till after he had invoked the assistance of the gods. For his great principle, which he learned from his father, was never to enter upon any action, whether great or small, without first consulting the gods. Cambyses had often represented to him, that human prudence was very short-sighted, and the views of men confined within narrow bounds; that they could not penetrate into futurity, and what they often thought was most for their advantage, became the cause of their destruction; whereas the gods being eternal, know all things, the future as well as the past, and [*u*] inspire those they love with what is most proper

[*u*] They imputed every branch of their success to Divine Providence, even what they caught in hunting. Venatio nobis hæc, amici, (*says Cyrus,*) volente Deo prospera futura est. Cyrop. lib. 2.

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for them to undertake; a protection they owe to none, and grant only to such as call upon them and consult them.

Cambyses was pleased to accompany his son as far as the frontiers of Persia. By the way he gave him excellent instructions upon the duties of the general of an army. I have already observed, in another place, that Cyrus, who thought he was a perfect master in the trade of war, after having studied it so long under the most experienced officers of his time, owned then that he was absolutely ignorant of the most essential part of the art military, till he had learned it from this familiar discourse, which deserves to be carefully read, and seriously considered by all persons designed for the profession of arms. I shall mention but one instance, from whence we may judge of the rest.

The point was, how to make the soldiers submissive and obedient. The easiest and surest method, in my opinion, says Cyrus, is to commend and reward the obedient, and to punish and disgrace the disobedient. That is right, answered Cambyses, if you would bring them to it by force: but the business is, how to make them submit voluntarily. Now the surest way of succeeding herein, is to convince those over whom we command, that we know better what is fit for them than they do themselves; for all mankind will readily obey those, of whom they have this opinion. From this principle arises the blind submission, which the sick pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and sea-faring men to their pilot. Their obedience is wholly founded upon a persuasion, that the physician, the guide, and the pilot know more of the matter than themselves. But what must we do, says Cyrus again to his father, to appear more able and prudent than others? By being really so, replies Cambyses; and to this end applying diligently to our profession, seriously studying all the rules of it, consulting the ablest masters with docility and care, neglecting nothing which may make our enterprises succeed;

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and above all imploring the assistance of the gods, who alone give prudence and success.

When Cyrus was arrived in Media and with Cyaxares, the first thing he did, after the usual compliments, was to inform himself of the quality and number of the troops on both sides. He found, by the list that was given in, that the enemy's army amounted to sixty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, and consequently that their horse were two-thirds more than those of the Medes and Persians together, and that the latter had scarce half their foot. So great an inequality threw Cyaxeres into great terror and confusion. He could not think of any other expedient than the drawing fresh troops out of Persia, and in greater number than before. But besides that this remedy would have been very slow, it seemed impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed a surer and shorter method, and this was to change the arms of the Persians; and as most of them used only the bow and the javelin, and consequently fought only at a distance, in which way of fighting the greater number easily carried it over the smaller, he thought it advisable to arm them in such a manner, that they might come immediately to close fight with the enemy, and thereby render the multitude of their troops unserviceable. This advice was approved and put in execution immediately.

One day as Cyrus was making a review of his army, a courier came to him from Cyaxares with advice, that embassadors were just arrived from the king of the Indies, and therefore he desired he would come presently to him: and for this reason, says he, I have brought you a rich vestment; for the king desires you would be magnificently dressed in presence of the Indians, for the honour of the nation. Cyrus lost no time, but set forward immediately with his troops to attend upon the king, [x] without putting on any other habit than his own; and as Cyaxares at first

[x] Ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ στολῇ ἀδύτῳ τι ἀλλοτρίῳ μεμιασμένος. A beautiful expression! Persicâ veste indutus, ornatu alieno minimè contaminatâ.

seemed

seemed somewhat displeased at it, Should I have done you more honour, replies Cyrus, by clothing myself in purple, and putting on a load of bracelets and gold chains, if with all this I had tarried longer before I came, than I now do you by the sweat of my brows and my diligence, in letting all the world see with what readiness your orders are executed?

Cyrus's great care was to engage the affection of the troops, to gain the inclination of the officers, and acquire the love and esteem of the soldiers. To this end he treated them all with gentleness and good-nature, made himself popular and affable, invited them often to dine with him, and especially those who were distinguished amongst the troops. He valued money only for the sake of distributing it. He gave presents liberally to every one according to his merit and condition; to one a buckler, to another a sword, or something of a like nature. He thought a general was to distinguish himself by his greatness of soul, his generosity, and inclination to do good; and not by luxury in eating, or magnificence in dress and equipage, and still less by haughtiness and pride.

Observing all his troops full of ardour and courage, he proposed to Cyaxares to lead them against the enemy. They therefore began their march, after they had offered sacrifices to the gods. When the armies were in sight of each other, they prepared for the battle. The Assyrians were encamped in the open plain; Cyrus on the other hand was covered by some villages, and small eminences. They spent some days in looking upon one another. At last the Assyrians came first out of their camp in very great numbers, and Cyrus advanced with his troops. Before they came within a bow-shot, he gave the word of command, which was, *Jupiter the helper and conductor.* He caused the usual hymn to be sung in honour of Castor and Pollux, and the soldiers full of religious ardour (διοσκόρους made the responses with a loud voice. [y] In the whole army of

[y] Ἦν δὲ μηδὲν τὸ στράτευμα τῷ Κύρῳ προθυμίας, φιλοτιμίας, ῥώμης θάρσους, παρασκευασμοῦ, σωφροσύνης, πειθοῦς . . . ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γὰρ δὴ οἱ δεισιδαίμονες ἥδιστα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοβοῦνται.

Cyrus

Cyrus nothing was to be discerned but cheerfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations, prudence, and obedience, which cast a strange terror into the hearts of the enemies. For, says the historian here, it was observed that those who most feared the gods upon these occasions were the least afraid of men. The Assyrian archers, slingers, and darters of javelins, made their discharges before the enemy was within reach. But the Persians, encouraged by the presence and example of Cyrus came at once to a close engagement, and broke the first battalions. The Assyrians could not sustain so rude a shock, and took all to their heels. The Median horse moved forward at the same time to fall upon that of the enemy, who were also soon routed. They were briskly pursued as far as their camp. The slaughter was terrible, and the Assyrian king lost his life in the field. Cyrus did not think himself in a condition to force them in their entrenchments, and sounded a retreat.

The Assyrians in the mean while, their king slain, and the bravest men in the army lost, were in a strange consternation. Crœsus and the other allies lost also all hope. So that they had no thoughts but of escaping by favour of the night.

Cyrus had rightly foreseen it, and prepared for a vigorous pursuit. But this was not to be done without horse, and the Persians, as we have already observed, had none. He went therefore to Cyaxares, and told him of his design. Cyaxares very much disapproved it, and represented to him the danger there was in driving so powerful an enemy to extremes, who might perhaps be inspired with courage by being driven to despair; that it was prudent to use good fortune with moderation and not to lose the fruit of a victory by too much eagerness; that besides, he was unwilling to compel the Medes, or prevent them from taking the repose they had so justly deserved. Cyrus at last desired leave only to carry such with him, as were willing to follow him, and got the consent of Cyaxares with great difficulty, who had no thought but

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of passing his time in feasting and rejoicing with his officers, for the victory he had so lately gained.

Almost all the Medes followed Cyrus, who began his march in pursuit of the enemy. He met in his way couriers from the Hyrcanians, who served in the enemy's army, to tell him, that as soon as he appeared, they were ready to submit to him, and in reality they did so. He lost no time, but marching all night came up with the Assyrians. Crœsus had sent his wives before in the cool of the evening, for it was then summer, and was following after them with some horse. The Assyrians were in the utmost consternation, when they saw the enemy at their heels. Many of them were killed in the flight; all that were left in the camp surrendered; the victory was complete, and the booty immense. Cyrus kept to himself all the horses that were found in the camp, designing from that time to form a body of Persian horse, which till then they had not. Every thing of the greatest value he set apart for Cyaxares. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, he made them partake of a repast he had prepared for them, bidding them send only some bread to the Persians, who had every thing else that was necessary for them both as to delicacy and drink. Their sauce was hunger, and their drink the water from the river. This was the manner of living, to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

Cyaxares had passed the night, that Cyrus spent in pursuit of the enemy, in joy and feasting, and had got drunk with his principal officers. When he awaked the next morning, he was strangely surprised to see himself left almost alone. Full of rage and indignation, he immediately dispatched a messenger to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus, and make the Medes return directly. Cyrus was under no concern at so unjust a command. He wrote back a respectful letter, but with a generous freedom, in which he justified his conduct, and reminded him of the leave he had granted to all the Medes that were willing to follow

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follow him. He sent at the same time into Persia for fresh troops, designing to extend his conquests still farther.

Among the prisoners of war was a young princess of exquisite beauty, reserved for Cyrus. She was named Panthea, and was wife to Abradates king of Susiana. Upon the report of her beauty Cyrus refused to see her, apprehending, as he said, lest such an object should engage his affection too much, and divert him from the great designs he had formed. Araspes, a young Median lord, in whose custody she had been, did not suspect his own weakness so much, and affirmed that a man was always master of himself. Cyrus gave him prudent advice, and put the princess again into his hands. Fear not, replies Araspes, I am secure of myself, and will lay my life on it that I do nothing contrary to my duty. However, his passion for the princess increased by little and little to such a degree, that finding her invincibly averse to his desires, he was upon the point of offering her violence. The princess made her complaints to Cyrus, who presently sent Artabazus to expostulate in his name with Araspes. This officer chid him with the utmost severity, and set his fault before him in such a light, as almost threw him into despair. Araspes, overwhelmed with grief, could not refrain from tears, and was struck dumb with shame and terror. Some days after Cyrus sent for him; and he came all trembling and disordered. Cyrus took him aside, and instead of the violent reproaches he expected, spoke to him with the utmost mildness, owning that he had been to blame for imprudently shutting him up with so formidable an enemy. Such unexpected goodness gave life to the young lord. His confusion, joy, and gratitude, drew tears from his eyes in abundance. It is now, says he, that I begin to know myself, and sensibly to prove that I have two souls, one that inclines me to do well, and the other that urges me to mischief. The first is always superior, when you are by to assist me, and are talking with me; and I yield

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to the other, and am overcome, when I am alone by myself. He made ample amends afterwards for his fault, and did Cyrus a considerable service, by retreating as a spy to the Assyrians, under the pretext of a pretended discontent.

Cyrus in the mean time prepared to advance into the enemy's country. None of the Medes would quit him, nor return without him to Cyaxares, whose rage and cruelty they apprehended. The army began their march. The good treatment Cyrus had given the prisoners of war, by sending them all back free into their own country, had spread a general rumour of his clemency. Many of the people submitted to him, and increased the number of his troops. When he drew nigh to Babylon, he sent a challenge to the king of Assyria, offering to decide the quarrel by a single combat. But this challenge was not accepted. However, for the security of his allies during his absence, he entered into a kind of truce and treaty with him; by which it was agreed on both sides, that the husbandmen should not be disturbed, but have full liberty to till the ground. And thus, after he had taken a view of the country, examined the situation of Babylon, enlarged the number of his friends and allies, he returned towards Media.

When he drew near the frontiers, he sent deputies to Cyaxares, to give him notice of his arrival, and to receive his orders. Cyaxares did not think it advisable to admit so considerable an army into his country, which was besides to be augmented by the addition of forty thousand men, lately arrived from Persia. The next day he set forward on his journey with the horse that remained with him. Cyrus advanced to meet him with his, who were very numerous and in good order. The sight of them awakened the jealousy and discontent of Cyaxares. He gave his nephew a very cold reception, turned aside his face, and declined his kiss, and even let fall some tears Cyrus commanded all that stood by him to withdraw, and reasoned with him upon the occasion. He spoke with so much mildness, submission,

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submission, and force, gave him such strong proofs of his integrity, respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interests, that he removed in a moment all his suspicions, and was perfectly restored to his good graces. They mutually embraced each other, and shed tears on both sides. The joy of the Medes and Persians was inexpressible, who waited for the issue of this interview with fear and trembling. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately mounted their horses, and then all the Medes posted themselves behind Cyaxares, pursuant to the signal Cyrus had given them. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the other nations their respective princes. When they were arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent which had been prepared for him. He was immediately visited by most of the Medes, who came to pay their respects to him, and make him presents, some of their own accord, and others by the direction of Cyrus. Cyaxares was extremely affected with it, and began to be convinced that Cyrus had not debauched his subjects from him, but that the Medes bore him the same affectionate regard they had done before.

REFLECTIONS.

This whole story is full of instruction. We see in Cyrus all the qualifications requisite to form a great man, and in his troops whatever renders an army invincible. This young prince, far superior in his sentiments to those of his rank and age, placed not his glory in magnificent repasts, clothes, and equipages. He was unacquainted with the airs of haughtiness and pride, by which young men of quality often imagine they distinguish themselves. He valued riches only for the pleasure of distributing them, and the opportunity they gave him of adding to the number of his friends. He [z] was surprisingly a master in the art of gaining the affections of others, and still more by

[z] Artificium benevolentiæ of Cyrus. Ep. 1. ad Quint. Fraeolligendæ, says Tully, speaking trem.

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his obliging deportment and engaging behaviour than his liberality. As he was perfectly acquainted with the science of war, he abounded in stratagems and expedients; witness the change of arms and establishment of cavalry which he introduced among the Persians. He was sober, vigilant, inured to labour, insensible of the allurements of pleasure; and the contrast between him and Cyaxares very much exalts the value of his excellent qualities.

At an age, when the passions are usually most violent, and in the very heat of victory, when every thing seems allowable, in the midst of the applauses and praises he received on all sides, he always remained absolute master of himself, and gave a young lord, who was very unlike him, such lectures of continence and virtue, as are surprising even to us that are Christians, and are so very remote from our manners, that they seem almost incredible.

But what must astonish us still more, is the infinite veneration he paid to the gods, his exactness in forming no enterprise without consulting them, and imploring their assistance; his religious acknowledgment of their favours, by ascribing all his good success to them; and the open profession of piety and religion he was not ashamed to make at all times and upon all occasions, if I may be allowed to use these terms in the case of a prince, who was ignorant of the true God.

This is what youth must study in Cyrus; and it may not be amiss to observe to them, that one of the greatest commanders in the Roman republic was formed upon this model, I mean the second Scipio Africanus, who had the admirable books of the *Cyropædia* continually in his hands. [a] *Quos quidem libros non sine causâ noster ille Scipio Africanus de manibus poneri non solebat. Nullum est enim prætermissum in his officium diligentis & moderati imperii.*

[a] Cic. Ep. 1. ad Quint. Fratr.

III. *The*

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III. THE CONTINUATION OF THE WAR, THE TAKING OF BABYLON. NEW CONQUESTS. THE DEATH OF CYRUS. *Cyrop. lib. 6. &c.*

In the council, which was held in the presence of Cyaxares, it was resolved to continue the war. They made preparations for it with indefatigable ardour. The enemy's army were still more in number than they had been the preceding campaign, and Egypt alone furnished above sixscore thousand men. They met at Thymbræa, a city of Lydia. Cyrus, after taking all necessary precautions for supplying his army with every thing it might want, in which he was surprisingly particular, as Xenophon relates at large, determined to begin his march. Cyaxares did not follow him, but tarried behind with a third part of the Medes only, that he might not leave his country entirely without troops.

As Abradates, king of Susiana, was preparing to put on his armour, his wife Panthea brought him an helmet, with bracelets and lockets of massey gold, a coat of arms fit for him plaited to the bottom, and a large plume of feathers of a purple colour. She had wrought the most part of them with her own hands unknown to her husband, that she might have the pleasure of surprising him with the present. And tho' passionately fond of him, she exhorted him rather to die with his arms in his hand, than not signalize himself by some action worthy their birth, and the character she had given of him to Cyrus. We, says she, are under the highest obligations to him. When I was his prisoner, and as such designed for him, I was not treated as a slave by him, nor restored to liberty upon shameful conditions. He took as much care of me, as if I had been the wife of his own brother; and I promised him that you should be grateful for such a favour. Be not therefore unmindful of it. O Jupiter! cries Abradates, lifting up his eyes to heaven, grant that I may this day shew myself a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend that deserves so generous a benefactor.

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nefactor. When he had said this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea who could hold him no longer in her arms, kissed the chariot, and following it for some time on foot, at length retired.

When the armies were come within view of each other, they prepared for battle. After public and general prayers, Cyrus offered libations in particular, and again besought the god of his father to espouse his cause, and guide him with his assistance. And hearing a clap of thunder, he cried out, [*b*] *We follow thee, O Jupiter supreme;* and instantly advanced towards the enemy. As the front of their battle far exceeded that of the Persians, they in the center stood still, whilst the two wings advanced, inclining to the right and left, with a design to surround the army of Cyrus, and charged him at the same time in several places. This was what he expected, and was not at all surprised at. He ran through all the ranks, to encourage his troops, and though upon other occasions he behaved with so much modesty, and was so remote from all appearance of vanity, when he was upon the point to engage, he cried out with a resolute and decisive voice, Follow to certain victory; the gods are on our side. After giving all necessary orders, and causing the usual hymn to be sung through all the army, he gave the signal.

Cyrus began with attacking the wing of the enemy, which had advanced upon the right flank of his army, and having charged it also in flank, put it into disorder. The same was done on the other side, where they made the squadron of camels advance first. The enemy's cavalry did not wait their coming up; but as soon as the horses saw them at a distance, they fell back upon one another, and some of them prancing and flinging, threw their riders to the ground. The chariots armed with scythes finished what was wanting to complete the confusion. In the mean time Abradates, who commanded the chariots that were placed

[*b*] God indeed was actually his guide, but a very different God from Jupiter.

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at the head of the army, brought them on full speed. The enemy was unable to sustain so rough a charge, and were put to the rout. Abradates having pierced them, fell upon the battalions of the Egyptians; but his chariot being unfortunately overturned, he was slain with his men, after having given extraordinary proofs of his valour. The battle was fierce on that side, and the Persians were forced to fall back as far as their machines. There the Egyptians found themselves much incommoded by the arrows that were cast from those rolling towers, and the battalions of the rear-guard of the Persians advancing sword in hand, hindered the archers from passing farther, and obliged them to return to their post. There was then nought else to be seen but rivers of blood streaming on every side. In the mean time Cyrus came up, after having put to flight whatever had opposed him. He was grieved to see the Persians had given way, and judging the Egyptians would still go on to gain ground, he resolved to attack them in the rear; and in an instant having thrown himself with his troops behind their battalions, he charged them rudely. The horse at the same time advanced, and attacked the enemy briskly. The Egyptians, thus encompassed on every side, faced about on all sides, and defended themselves with wonderful courage. Cyrus at last admiring their valour, and being unwilling to suffer so many brave men to be cut in pieces, offered them honourable conditions, representing to them that all their allies had forsaken them. These conditions were accepted, and they afterwards served in his troops with inviolable fidelity.

After the loss of the battle, Crœsus fled with great diligence to Sardis with his troops, whither Cyrus pursued him the next day, and made himself master of the city without any resistance.

From thence he marched directly to Babylon, conquering by the way the greater Phrygia and Cappadocia. When he was come before the town, and had carefully examined its situation, walls, and fortifications,

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tions, every one judged it was absolutely impossible to take it by force. He seemed therefore resolved upon the design of carrying it by famine. To this end he caused very large and deep ditches to be dug quite round the town, to prevent, as he said, any thing from entering in or going out. The people of the city could not help ridiculing his design to besiege them; and as the town was furnished with more than twenty years provisions, they made a jest of all the trouble he was at. When his works were finished, Cyrus was advised that a great festival was soon to be solemnized, whereon all the Babylonians spent the night in drinking and revelling. Upon the night of the festival, which came on early, he caused the mouth of the trenches to be opened which pointed towards the rivers, when the water rushed impetuously into this new channel, and leaving its former bed dry, opened Cyrus a free passage into the city. His troops therefore entered without any resistance. They marched forward till they came to the palace, where the king was slain. At break of day the citadel surrendered upon the news that the town was taken, and the king dead. Cyrus caused proclamation to be made in all quarters, that whoever would escape with their lives, should tarry in their houses, and send him their arms; which was done immediately. And this was all the trouble this prince had in conquering the richest and strongest city then in the world.

Cyrus began with returning thanks to the gods for the good success they had granted him; he assembled the principal officers, publicly commended their courage, wisdom, zeal, and fidelity, and distributed rewards to the whole army. He then remonstrated to them, that the only way to preserve what they had acquired, was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the fruits of a victory did not consist in abandoning themselves to ease and idleness; that after they had conquered the enemy by force of arms, it would be shameful to let themselves be conquered by the allurements of pleasure; that lastly, if they would

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retain their ancient glory, they must maintain the same discipline at Babylon amongst the Persians, as was observed in their own country, and to this end employ their chief care in the good education of their children. By this means, says he, we shall daily grow more virtuous ourselves, by striving to set them good examples; and they cannot easily be corrupted, whilst they neither see nor hear any thing from us, but what has a tendency to virtue, and are continually employed in the practice of honest and commendable exercises.

Cyrus assigned the different parts and cares of the government to different persons, according to the talents he knew them to be masters of; but he reserved to himself alone the office of forming generals, governors of provinces, ministers and embassadors, as judging this to be properly the duty and business of a king, and that whereon his glory, the success of all his affairs, and the quiet and happiness of the empire absolutely depended. Matters relating to the war, the finances, and the civil government, he disposed in a surprising order. He had persons of known probity dispersed through all the provinces, who gave him an account of all that passed; and these were called the eyes and ears of the prince. He was careful to reward and honour all persons distinguished by their merit, and excelling in any particular whatsoever. He set a far greater value upon clemency than courage, as the last was often the cause of the ruin and desolation of a people, whereas the other was always beneficial and salutary. The laws he judged were of admirable service in contributing to a due regulation of manners; but in his opinion, the prince was to be a living law by his example; and he thought him unworthy to command others, who had not more understanding and virtue than his subjects. Liberality seemed to him a virtue truly royal; but he did not think it comparable to goodness, affability, and humanity, virtues proper to gain the hearts and win the affections of the people; which is properly to reign: besides, that to be fond of giving more than others

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when one is infinitely richer than they, has nothing so extraordinary in it, as to descend in a manner from the throne, to make himself equal with his subjects. But the greatest preference he gave to the worship of the gods, and a reverence for religion; as being fully persuaded, that whoever was religious and feared God, was at the same time a good and faithful servant to kings, and firmly attached to their persons and the good of the state.

When Cyrus thought he had given sufficient orders concerning the affairs of Babylon, he resolved upon a journey into Persia. He passed through Media to visit Cyaxares, to whom he made considerable presents, and let him know that he would find a magnificent palace prepared for him at Babylon, whenever he pleased to go thither, and that he should look upon that city as properly his own. Cyaxares, who had no male issue, offered him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her portion. He was very sensible the proposal was to his advantage, but he could not accept it till he had obtained the consent of his father and mother; leaving to all after-ages a rare example of the respectful submission and entire dependance that all children ought to shew to their parents upon such an occasion, of what age soever they be, or to what degree of power and greatness soever they are arrived. Cyrus then espoused this princess at his return from Persia, and carried her with him to Babylon, where he had fixed the seat of his empire.

There he assembled his troops. It is said, they consisted of sixscore thousand horse, two thousand chariots armed with scythes, and six hundred thousand foot. With this numerous army he took the field, and subdued all the nations from Syria to the Indian sea. After which he turned his arms against Egypt, and brought that country in like manner under his subjection.

He took up his residence in the midst of all these countries, passing usually seven months at Babylon during the winter, because of the warmth of the cli-

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mate; three months at Susa in the spring; and two months at Ecbatana, during the great heats of the summer.

After many years spent in this manner, Cyrus returned into Persia for the seventh time since the establishment of his monarchy. Cambyses and Mandane had been long dead, and himself was grown very old. Finding his end to draw near, he called together his sons and the great men of the empire, and when he had thanked the gods for all the favours they had bestowed upon him during his life, and begged a like protection of them for his children, his friends, and his country, he declared his eldest son Cambyses his successor, and left the other several considerable governments. He gave them both excellent advice, by informing them that piety to the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the care of acquiring and preserving faithful friends, was the firmest support of the throne. He died lamented equally by all his people.

REFLECTIONS.

I shall make two upon this subject; the one concerning the character and personal qualities of Cyrus; and the other upon the truth of his history, as written by Xenophon.

The first Reflection.

We may look upon Cyrus as the wisest conqueror and most accomplished hero mentioned in Profane History. He wanted none of the qualities that form a great man; he had wisdom, moderation, courage, greatness of soul, noble sentiments, a wonderful dexterity in directing the will, and conciliating affection; a profound knowledge in all the branches of the art of war, and an extensive understanding, supported by a prudent resolution, in forming and executing great projects.

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But what was most truly great and royal in him, [c] was a thorough conviction that all his care and attention ought to tend to making his people happy; and that a king was not to be distinguished from his subjects by the splendor of riches, the pomp of equipage, or the luxury or expence of his table; but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and especially by an indefatigable application to watch over their interests, and to procure them ease and plenty. In short, the foundation and basis in a manner of the state of princes, is not to live for themselves. To be devoted to the public good, is the very characteristic of their real greatness. They are like the fountain of light, set only in an high place, to be the more universally diffused: and it would be injurious to them, to confine them within the narrow bounds of personal interest. They would fall again into the obscurity of a private condition, if their views were less extended than their dominions. The whole claims them, because confided to them.

It was from the assemblage of all these virtues that Cyrus was enabled in so short a time to lay the foundations of an empire, which took in almost all the parts of the world; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruit of his conquests for many years; that he was so much esteemed and beloved, not only by his natural subjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; and that after his death he was generally lamented as the common father of all his people.

We ought not to be surprised that Cyrus was so accomplished in every respect, as we know that God himself had formed him to be the instrument and agent of his design of mercy towards his people, and to give the world in his person a perfect model of the

[c] Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν, οὐ τῷ πολυτελέστερον δειπνεῖν, καὶ πλέον ἔνδοξον ἔχειν χρυσίον, ἀλλὰ τῷ προνοεῖν τε καὶ φιλοπονεῖν περὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους. Cyrop. l. 1.

Ac mihi quidem videntur hæc omnia esse referenda ab iis qui præsunt aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperio erunt, sint quàm beatissimi. Cic. Ep. 1. l. 1. ad Quint. Fratr.

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manner in which princes ought to govern their people, and the real use they ought to make of sovereignty.

When I say that this prince was formed by God himself, I do not mean by a sensible miracle, or that he was at once made such as we admire him in history. God gave him an happy genius and capacity, by implanting in his mind the seeds of every great quality, and in his heart a disposition to the most extraordinary virtues. He took care, that these happy natural parts should be improved by an excellent education; and thus he prepared him for the great designs he had marked out for him. As he is the light of the soul, he dispersed all his doubts, suggested to him the properest expedients, made him attentive to the best counsels, enlarged his views, and rendered them more clear and distinct. [d] Thus God presided over all his enterprises, led him as it were by the hand in all his conquests, opened for him the gates of cities, made the strongest ramparts fall down before him, and humbled in his presence the most mighty of the earth.

To set the merit of Cyrus in a better light, we need only compare him with another king of Persia. I mean Xerxes his grandson, who, hurried on by an absurd motive of revenge, attempted to subdue Greece. We see him surrounded with whatever is held most in esteem, and makes the greatest figure in the eyes of men; the largest empire at that time in the world, immense riches, forces by sea and land in an almost incredible number. But all this was but around him, not in him, and added nothing to his natural qualifications. For through a blindness too common amongst princes and great men, born to the possession of unbounded wealth with unlimited power, and encompassed with a glory he had been at no pains to acquire,

[d] Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right-hand I have holden to subdue nations before him: And I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places strait. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut asunder the bars of iron. Isa. xlv, 1, 2.

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he had accustomed himself to judge of his own talents and personal merit from the outside of his high place and state. He despises the sage advice of his uncle Artabanus and Demaratus, to give ear only to the flatterers of his vanity. He measures the success of his enterprises by the extent of his power. The servile submission of so many nations does not satisfy his ambition; and disdaining too ready and easy an obedience, he pleases himself with exercising his dominion over the elements, with cutting through mountains, and making them navigable, with chastising the sea for breaking down his bridge, and binding the floods with chains. Full of a childish vanity and a ridiculous pride, he looks upon himself as master of nature and the elements; thinks no nation dares oppose his way, and with presumptuous folly and idle assurance reckons upon the millions of men and vessels that follow at his heels. But when after the battle of Salamis he saw the sad remains and shameful ruins of his innumerable troops dispersed over all Greece, he was then convinced of the difference there was between an army and a multitude of men; [e] *stratusque per totam passim Græciam Xerxes intellexit, quantùm ab exercitu turba distaret.*

I cannot omit applying in this place two of Horace's verses, which seem made for the double event I have now been speaking of.

Vis consilii expers mole ruit suâ;
Vim temperatam Dii quoque provehunt
In majus.

"Mere brutal force by its own weight descends,
"While force more moderate heaven itself be-
friends."

In short, can the army of Xerxes be better described than by these words, *vis consilii expers*, a power void of counsel and prudence; or can the success of it be expressed better than by the following terms, *mole ruit*

[e] Senec. l. 6. de Benef. c. 32.

sua,

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sud, which shew how that enormous Colossus fell by its own weight and grandeur? Whereas, says Horace, the gods take a pleasure in augmenting a power founded in justice, and guided by reason, such as was the power of Cyrus, *Vim temperatam Dii quoque provehunt in majus.*

The second Reflection.

One of the rules I laid down as useful to direct youth in the study of history, was principally to enquire after truth, and early to accustom themselves to know and distinguish the characters of it. This is the natural place of applying this rule. Herodotus and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in what I look upon to be the essential part and substance of Cyrus's history, I mean his expedition against Babylon, and his other conquests, are very different in their accounts of several other very important facts, such as the birth and death of this prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire.

Youth should not be left ignorant of these differences. Herodotus, and after him Justin, relate, that Astyages, king of the Medes, upon a frightful dream which he had, married his daughter Mandane, to a Persian of obscure birth and condition, named Cambyses. A son being born of this marriage, the king ordered Harpagus one of the principal officers, to put him to death. Harpagus gave him to one of the king's shepherds to be exposed in a forest; but the child being miraculously preserved, and brought up privately by the shepherd's wife, was at last discovered by his grandfather, who was satisfied with sending him to a remote part of Persia, and discharged his whole indignation upon the wretched Harpagus, whose son he caused to be killed and dressed, and served up to his father at an entertainment. The young Cyrus, several years after, informed by Harpagus of his birth and station, and encouraged by his advice and remonstrances, raised an army, marched against Astyages, defeated him in battle and thereby transferred the empire of the Medes to the Persians.

The

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The same Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner very unworthy so great a conqueror. This prince according to him, having made war against the Scythians, in the first battle he counterfeited a flight, leaving behind him a large quantity of wine and provisions in the field. The Scythians did not fail to fall greedily upon them. Cyrus returned against them, and finding them all drunk and asleep, he defeated them without difficulty, took abundance of them prisoners, and among the rest the son of queen Tomyris, who commanded an army in person. This young prince, whom Cyrus refused to send back to his mother, recovering from his drunkenness, and not bearing to suffer captivity, killed himself. Tomyris, animated with a thirst of revenge, gave a second battle to the Persians; and having drawn them in her turn into an ambuscade by a pretended flight, cut off above two hundred thousand of them, with Cyrus their king. And then cutting off Cyrus's head, she threw it into a vessel full of blood, with this insulting speech, "Cruel as thou "art, satiate thyself with blood, of which in thy life- "time thou hast always been insatiable." *Satia te, inquit, sanguine quem sitisti cujusque insatiabilis semper fuisti.*

The question is, which of these two historians, who relate the same history in so different a manner, is the best authority. Youth themselves, if properly interrogated by a skilful master, may easily give an answer. The account which Herodotus gives of the first years of Cyrus has more the air of a fable than an history. And for his death, what likelihood is there, that a prince so experienced in war, and still more commendable for his prudence than valour, should have run headlong into the snares laid for him by a woman? What the same historian relates of the violent passion and childish revenge of Cyrus against a river, which had drowned one of his sacred horses, and which he caused his army to cut directly into three hundred and sixty channels, is directly opposite to the character

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character of this prince, [g] who was famous for his mildness and moderation. [h] Besides, is it probable, that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should squander time so precious to him in this manner, spend the ardour of his troops in so useless a labour, and lose the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself by making war upon a river, instead of carrying his arms against the enemy?

But what absolutely decides in favour of Xenophon, is the agreement of his account with the holy scripture, where we see that Cyrus was so far from raising the empire of the Persians upon the ruins of that of the Medes, as Herodotus remarks, that those two nations acted in concert in the siege of Babylon, and joined their forces to destroy that formidable power.

Whence then could so great a difference arise between these two historians? Herodotus will tell us. In the very passage, where he relates the birth of Cyrus, and in that where he speaks of his death, he informs us, there were then very different manners of reporting these two great events. Herodotus followed that which was most agreeable to his own fancy; and we know he was fond of any thing extraordinary and wonderful, and very easily gave credit to it. Xenophon was more serious and less credulous; and he tells us in the beginning of his history, that he had very carefully enquired into the birth of Cyrus, his character and education.

We must not conclude from what I have said, that Herodotus is not to be credited in any thing, because he is sometimes mistaken; this rule would be false and

[g] Tully observes, that during his whole reign he never let an angry word fall from him; cujus summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit. Ep. 2. ad Quint. Fratr.

[h] Cùm Babylonem oppugnaturus festinaret ad bellum, cujus maxima momenta in occasionibus sunt . . . huc omnem transtulit belli apparatum . . . Periit itaque & tempus, magna in magnis rebus jactura; & militum ardor, quem inutilis labor fregit; & occasio aggrediendi imparatos, dum ille bellum indictum hosti cum flumine gerit. Senec. lib. 3. de Ira. cap. 21.

unjust;

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unjust; as we should be to blame to believe every thing an author says, because he sometimes speaks truth. Truth and falshood may be found together; but the reader's judgment and prudence consist in knowing how to distinguish them, in pointing them out by certain peculiar circumstances, and in making a just trial and separation of them. And to this judgment in discerning what is true or false the boys should be early accustomed.

THE SECOND PIECE, TAKEN FROM THE HISTORY OF THE GREEKS.

OF THE GRANDEUR AND EMPIRE OF ATHENS.

My design in this second piece of history is to give some idea of the superiority of the Athenians for several years over all Greece, and to lay open by what means and degrees they arrived at that height of power. The principal persons who in the space of time we speak of, contributed most to the establishment and support of the power of this republic, though by very different qualifications, were Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles.

Themistocles indeed laid the foundation of this new power by one single piece of advice, in turning the whole power and views of the Athenians towards the sea. Cimon brought these naval forces into service by his maritime expeditions, which reduced the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin. Aristides supplied the expences of the war by his wise œconomy in the management of the public treasure. And Pericles, by his prudence supported and augmented what the others had acquired, in mixing the gentle exercises of peace with the tumultuous expeditions of war. Thus the rise of the Athenians was owing to the happy concurrence and mixture of the policy of Themistocles, the activity of Cimon, the disinterestedness of Aristides, and the wisdom of Pericles; so that if any one of these causes had been wanting, Athens would never have obtained the supremacy of Greece.

The

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The good success of the battle of Marathon, where Themistocles was present, first kindled in his heart that thirst of glory, which followed him ever after, and sometimes carried him too far. The trophies of Miltiades, he said, left him no rest either by day or night. He resolved from that time to make his name and country illustrious by some great action, and render it superior to Lacedæmon, which had long lorded it over all Greece. With this view he judged it would be expedient to turn all the force of Athens towards the sea, seeing that as it was weak by land, that was the only means of making it necessary to its allies, and formidable to its enemies. Covering therefore his designs under the plausible pretext of the war against the Æginetæ, he caused a fleet of an hundred ships to be built, which soon after was a great instrument in contributing to the safety of Greece.

The inviolable affection Aristides bore to justice, obliged him upon several occasions to oppose Themistocles, who was not over scrupulous in that point, and managed so by his tricks and cabals, as to procure the banishment of Aristides. In this kind of judgment the citizens gave their votes by writing the name of the person upon a shell, in Greek called ὄστρακον, whence was derived the name of ostracism. A peasant upon this occasion who knew not how to write, and did not know Aristides, applied to himself, desiring he would put the name of Aristides upon his shell. Why, says Aristides, has he done you any wrong, that you would thus condemn him? No, replied the other, I do not so much as know him, but I cannot endure to hear every body calling him *Just*. Aristides, without one word of answer, quietly takes his shell, writes his name upon it, and gives it to him back again. He took his leave with an earnest prayer, that the gods would not inflict any misfortune upon his country to make him regretted. The great Camillus in a like case did not follow his generosity, but offered up a quite different petition. [i] *In exilium*

[i] Liv. lib. 5. n. 32.

abiit,

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abiit, precatus, ab diis immortalibus, si innoxio sibi ea injuria fieret, primo quoque tempore desiderium sui civitati ingratæ facerent. "Going into banish-" ment, he prayed the immortal gods that he was con-" demned unjustly, they would take the earliest op-" portunity of making his ungrateful city regret his " loss." I shall hereafter examine what we are to think of the ostracism. Aristides was very soon recalled.

The expedition of Xerxes against Greece hastened his return. All the allies united their forces to repel the common enemy. They were then sensible how serviceable the prudent foresight of Themistocles was, who under another pretence had built an hundred gallies. They doubled this number upon the arrival of Xerxes. When they came to nominate the generalissimo, that was to command the fleet, the Athenians, who alone were masters of two thirds of the vessels, laid claim to the honour, and most justly. However, all the voices of the allies were unanimous in favour of Eurybiades the Lacedemonian. Themistocles, though young and very desirous of glory, judged that upon this occasion he ought to lay aside his own interest for the common good of his country; and telling the Athenians, that if they behaved with courage, the Greeks would soon of their own accord confer the command upon them, he persuaded them to yield to the Lacedæmonians as he did. I have elsewhere related with what moderation and prudence this young Athenian behaved both in the council of war, and at the battle of Salamis, whereof he had all the honour, though he was not the commander in chief.

From that glorious victory the reputation and credit of the Athenians very much increased. They behaved with great modesty upon the occasion, and sought only to advance their power by honourable and just means Mardonius, who was left in Greece with an army of three hundred thousand men, made them very advantageous proposals in his master's name, to draw them off from the allies. He promised entirely to

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to rebuild their city, which had been burnt down, to supply them with large sums of money, and give them the command all over Greece. The Lacedæmonians terrified with the news, sent deputies to Athens, to dissuade them from a compliance, and offered to receive and provide for their wives, their children, and their old men, and furnish them with every thing else they wanted. Aristides was then in power. He answered that he excused the Barbarians, who valued nothing but gold and silver, for hoping to corrupt their fidelity by large promises; but he was surprised and displeased to see that the poverty and present misery of the Athenians should have such an effect upon the Lacedæmonians, as to make them forget so much their valour and generosity, as to imagine they stood in need of their exhortation to fight manfully for the common safety of Greece, from the view of any rewards that they could offer; that they should tell their republic, that all the gold in the world could not tempt the Athenians, or make them abandon the defence of the common liberty; that they thanked the Lacedæmonians however for their obliging offers, but they should take care to put their allies to no expence. And then turning to the deputies of Mardonius, and stretching out his hand to the skies, "Know, says he, whilst yon sun shall continue his "course, the Athenians will be mortal enemies to the "Persians, and never cease to revenge upon them "the ravage of their lands, and the burning of their "houses and temples."

Themistocles in the mean time did not lose sight of the great project he had formed for supplanting the Lacedæmonians, and substituting the Athenians in their place; and without much concern about the choice of the means, he thought every thing just and good that promoted that end. One day in a full assembly of the citizens, he declared that he had a design of great importance, but could not communicate it to the people, because the success of it depended upon its being kept secret; he desired therefore

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fore they would nominate somebody to whom he might explain himself. They all named Aristides, and referred themselves absolutely to his opinion. Themistocles, taking him aside, told him he thought of burning the Grecian fleet, which lay in a neighbouring port; and that if this was done, Athens would certainly become mistress of all Greece. Aristides returned to the assembly, and barely declared, that nothing in the world could be more advantageous than the project of Themistocles, nor any thing at the same time more unjust. The people with one consent forbad Themistocles to proceed in it any farther.

We see by this that the surname of *Just* was deservedly conferred upon Aristides during his life-time; a title, says Plutarch, infinitely preferable to all that are pursued by the greatest conquerors with so much ardour, and in some measure bordering upon divinity. One day, as a verse of Æschylus was repeated upon the theatre, in which the poet, speaking of Amphiaraus, says, *That he sought not to appear just, but to be so;* the whole people immediately cast their eyes upon Aristides, and applied to him that admirable encomium.

The Persian army received a terrible blow in the famous battle of Platæa. Out of three hundred thousand men commanded by Mardonius, scarce forty thousand escaped. Pausanias, one of the kings of Sparta, was at the head of the Grecian army. He behaved at that time with great equity and moderation, as appears from two stories related by [*k*] Herodotus, which are very particular.

After the victory of Platæa, one of the principal citizens of Ægina advised him to revenge upon the body of Mardonius the death of so many brave Spartans, as were slain at Thermopylæ, and the unworthy treatment his uncle Leonidas had met with from Xerxes and Mardonius, who fixed his body to a gibbet. "Would you advise me then, says he, to imitate the "Barbarians in the thing we hate? If the esteem of "the Æginetæ is to be bought at so dear a rate, I

[*k*] Lib. 5.

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" shall be content with pleasing the Lacedæmonians, " who set a value only upon virtue and merit. As to " Leonidas and his companions, they are without " doubt sufficiently revenged by the blood of so " many thousand Persians as have been slain in the " battle."

The second story is no less remarkable. Pausanias, who had found an immense booty in the camp of the enemy, ordered two entertainments of a very different kind to be served up in the small hall. In one was displayed at full length the magnificence of the Persians, rich beds, costly carpets, gold and silver vessels innumerable, a prodigious variety of meats dressed with all the delicacy imaginable, wines and liquors of all sorts. The other was very plain after the Spartan manner, that is bread and water, and at most the black-broth. Pausanias applying himself to the Greek officers, whom he had purposely invited, and pointing to the two different tables, " See, [*l*] says he to them, " the folly of the general of the Medes, though ac- " customed to dine upon such meals as these, he " thought to conquer us, who live so hardily."

The advantage the Greeks had lately gained put them into a condition to send a fleet to the assistance of the allies, who were yet under the power of the Persians. This fleet was commanded by Pausanias the Lacedæmonian. Aristides and Cimon were the generals of the Athenians. They first set sail towards Cyprus, then to Byzantium, and took it; and in all places restored the allies to their liberty; but soon after fell themselves into a new kind of slavery. Pausanias, grown haughty upon the victories he had obtained, quitted the manners and customs of his country, assumed the habit and state of the Persians, and imitated their pomp and magnificence. He treated the allies with insupportable severity; spoke to the officers with a lofty and menacing air; required ex-

[*l*] Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγον, βυλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην διέξαι· ὃς τοιήνδε δίαιταν ἔχων, ἦλθε ἐς ὑμέας οὕτω ὀϊζυρὴν ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος.

travagant

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travagant honours to be paid him; and by his conduct rendered the government of the Lacedæmonians odious to all the allies. The gentle, good-natured, and obliging behaviour of Aristides and Cimon, the humanity and justice which appeared in all their actions; the care they took to offend nobody, and be serviceable to all, contributed to make the difference of characters still more remarkable, and to increase the discontent. The affair at last broke out into an open rupture, and the allies all submitted to the command of the Athenians, and put themselves under their protection. Thus, says Plutarch, Aristides, by opposing gentleness and good nature to the pride and cruelty of Pausanias, and inspiring the same sentiments into Cimon his colleague, withdrew the affections of the allies imperceptibly from the Lacedæmonians, and at last deprived him of the command, not by the force of fleets and armies, and still less by fraud and treachery, but by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable through their discreet and mild behaviour.

The Lacedæmonians upon this occasion shewed a generosity and moderation, which cannot be too much admired. For, perceiving that too great authority had rendered their officers haughty and insolent, they readily gave up the superiority they had till then held over the rest of the Greeks, and forbore to desire that the command of their army should be intrusted to any more of their generals, [m] chusing rather to have discreet and modest citizens, and such as would absolutely submit to the discipline and laws of their country, than to preserve the pre-eminence over the other Greeks.

Hitherto the cities and people of Greece had contributed certain sums of money to defray the expence of the war against the Barbarians; but this collection had always occasioned great discontents, as it had not been raised in due proportion. It was therefore judged

[m] Μᾶλλον αἱρούμενοι σοφρονοῦντας ἔχειν καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἰμμένοντας τοὺς πολίτας, ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἴσχυν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπάσης. Plut. in Vit. Aris.

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expedient under the new government to establish a new order for the finances, and fix a tax, to be regulated by the revenue of every city and people, that the charges of the state being equally divided amongst its respective members, none of them might have cause to complain. The business was to find out a fit person for the discharge of an employment of such moment to the public, and yet so nice, and full of dangers and inconveniencies. All the allies made choice of Aristides. They gave him a full power, and referred themselves absolutely to his prudence and justice for the imposition of the tax. Nor had they any cause to repent of their choice. He managed the public money with the fidelity and disinterestedness of one who looks upon it as a capital crime to lay his hand upon the property of another, with the care and activity of a father of a family inspecting into his own revenue, and with the caution and religion of a person, who considers the public money as a sacred treasure. Lastly, what is very difficult and very rare, he acquired the affection of every body in a station, where a man must manage well not to make himself odious. This glorious encomium Seneca bestows upon a person intrusted with a like employment, which is the highest character that can be given a minister, to whom the public treasures are confided. I shall give his words in Latin, not being able to express the strong and elegant brevity of Seneca in our own language, in the manner I could wish. *Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras, tam abstinenter quàm alienas, tam diligenter quàm tuas, tam religiose quàm publicas. In officio amorem consequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile est.* This is literally what Aristides did. He shewed so much equity and wisdom in the administration of his office, that nobody complained of him; and his time was ever after regarded as the golden age of Greece. In short, the tax he had fixed to four hundred and sixty talents was advanced by Pericles to six hundred, and soon after to thirteen hundred talents; not that the charge of the war amounted so high, but because of

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of many useful expences in distributions to the people of Athens, in the celebrating of plays and festivals, in the building of temples and public edifices; and besides, the hands of those, who had the counting of the public money, were not always so pure and clean as the hands of Aristides.

For it is remarkable that this great man was poorer when he left his employment, in which men usually grow rich, than when he first entered upon it; insomuch that after his death there was not enough in his house to defray the expences of his funeral. The people charged themselves with it, and also with the maintenance of his daughters, and giving them portions [n]. This condition, so despicable in the eyes of the generality of mankind, was the choice of Aristides, in which he always persevered out of taste and inclination; and so far was he from being ashamed of his poverty, that he looked upon it to be no less glorious than all the trophies and victories he had gained. Plutarch gives a proof of it, which I cannot omit here.

Callias, a very near relation of Aristides, and the richest citizen in Athens, was brought to a trial upon an accusation against him. His accuser, insisting little upon the merits of his cause, chiefly objected to him, that rich as he was, he was not ashamed to see Aristides, his wife, and children, reduced to want, without relieving their necessities. Callias observing that this reproach made a great impression upon the minds of his judges, summoned Aristides to declare before them, whether it was not true, that he had several times offered him large sums of money, and even pressed him to accept of them; and whether he had not constantly refused them, by saying, that he could boast more justly of his poverty, than the other of his riches; that a great many might be found who made a good or bad use of their riches, but it was not easy to meet with one who bore poverty with courage and generosity; and that none but those who were poor against

[n] Αὐτὸς ἐνέμεινε τῇ πενίᾳ, καὶ ἤτλει ἀγαπῶν τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τροπαίων τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πένης εἶναι δόξαν ἡδίω διετέλεσε. Plut.

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their will ought to be ashamed of being so. Aristides owned that all his kinsman had said was true. And there was no person in the assembly, who was not thoroughly convinced in his own mind, that it was much better to be poor like Aristides, than rich like Callias. Hence Plato reckoning up such as were most famous among the Athenians, set a value upon none but Aristides. For the rest [o], says he, as Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they adorned the city indeed with porticos, and sumptuous buildings; filled it with gold and silver, and such other superfluities and curiosities; but he left behind him the model of a perfect government, by proposing no other end in all his actions than the making his citizens more virtuous.

[p] Cimon had also very great qualities, which contributed very much to the establishing and confirming the power of the Athenians. Besides the sums of money, in which every one of the allies were taxed, they were besides to furnish a certain number of men and ships. Several of them, who after the retreat of Xerxes were desirous only of repose, and sought nothing more than to cultivate their lands in peace, chose rather to send money than men, and left to the Athenians the care of filling up the vacancies of soldiers and seamen they were obliged to supply. At first this occasioned great uneasiness, and they seemed resolved to put them upon the literal execution of the treaty. Cimon took a quite opposite method. He suffered them to enjoy peace in quiet, as perceiving that the allies, though formerly brave soldiers, would soon be fit for nothing but husbandry and merchandise, whilst the Athenians, who had constantly their oars or their arms in their hands, would daily grow better soldiers, and become more powerful. This was a necessary consequence; those very people at their own proper expence and charges gave themselves masters, and from being com-

[o] Θεμιστοκλέα μὲν γὰρ, καὶ Κίμωνα, καὶ Περικλέα, τοῦν καὶ χρημάτων, καὶ φλυαρίας, πολλῆς ἐμπιπρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν. Ἀριστείδην δὲ πολιτεύσασθαι πρὸς ἀρετήν. Plut. in Vit. Arist.

[p] Plut. in Vit. Cimon.

panions

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panions and allies, became in a manner subject and tributary to the Athenians.

[q] No general among the Greeks ever humbled the pride and power of the great king of Persia, like Cimon. When the Barbarians were driven out of Greece, he left them no breathing time, but pursued them briskly with a fleet of above two hundred sail, got possession of their strongest places, and drew off all their allies, that the king of Persia had not a soldier left in all Asia from the country of Ionia to Pamphylia. And still pursuing his point, he had the boldness to fall upon the enemies fleet, though far more numerous than his own, at the mouth of the river Eurymedon. He entirely defeated it, and took above two hundred vessels, without reckoning those that were sunk. The Persians had quitted their vessels, to join their army by land, which lay hard by, and were coasting the shore. Cimon, taking advantage of the ardour of his soldiers, who were encouraged by the late success, landed them immediately, and led them directly against the Barbarians, who firmly stood their ground, and supported the first shock with a great deal of courage. But at last being forced to give way, they took to their heels. They made a great slaughter, took an infinite number of prisoners, and an immense booty. Cimon having thus gained two victories in one day, which equalled, if not exceeded in glory, the two great battles of Salamis and Platæa, to complete all, went to meet a supply of fourscore Phœnician vessels, which were coming to join the fleet of the Persians, and knew nothing of what had passed. They were all taken or sunk, and most of the soldiers killed or drowned. This exploit so humbled the pride of the king of Persia, that he consented to that treaty of peace so much talked of in ancient history, by which he promised, that his army by land should never come nearer the Grecian sea than 430 *stadia*, which make near twenty leagues, and that his gallies or other ves-

[q] Plut. in Vit. Cimon.

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sels of war should not go beyond the Chalidonian or Cyanean islands.

Cimon returned to Athens full of glory, and applied part of the spoils in fortifying the port, and adorning the city. [r] During his absence Pericles had acquired considerable authority among the people. He was not naturally of a popular disposition, but became so thro' policy, to remove the suspicions which might be conceived of his aspiring to tyranny, as also to counterbalance the credit and authority of Cimon, who was supported by the faction of the rich and powerful. Pericles had an excellent education, and had been formed by the most able philosophers of his age, [s] Anaxagoras, who was the first that ascribed human events and the government of the world, not to a blind chance or a fatal necessity, but to a supreme intelligence or mind, which governed and directed all things with the greatest wisdom, had thoroughly instructed him in natural philosophy, or physics. This study had given him an extraordinary force and elevation of mind; and instead of the mean and timorous superstition engendered by ignorance, inspired him, says Plutarch, with a solid piety towards the Gods, accompanied with a firm resolution, and sure hope of the blessings to be expected from them. This science was also useful to him in his expeditions. For when the fleet of the Athenians were preparing to set sail against Peloponnesus, an eclipse of the sun happening, Pericles taking notice that the pilot of his own galley was terrified at the sudden darkness, threw his cloak over his eyes, and told him the same cause hindered him from seeing the sun. He was also well versed in eloquence, which he looked upon as necessary to one that would govern and manage the people. [t] The poets said of him, that he *fulminated, thundered, and set all Greece in a ferment*, he excelled so much in the art of speaking. He was no less prudent and reserved, than strong and

[r] Plut. in Vit. Pericl.

[s] For this reason Anaxagoras was called Νοῦς, intelligence or mind.

[t] Ab Aristophane Poetâ fulgurare, tonare, permiscere Græciam dictus est. Orat. n. 29.

vehement

vehement in his discourse; and it is observed, that he never spoke in public without praying to the gods, nor to let an expression fall from him, which was not proper to his subject. Eupolis said of him, that the goddess of persuasion sat upon his lips; and as [u] Thucydides, his adversary and rival, was one day asked, who wrestled best, he or Pericles? When I have got him down, says he, upon the ground, he maintains the contrary with so much force, that he persuades the standers-by to disbelieve their own eyes, and think that he did not fall.

[x] Such was the adversary, with whom Cimon was often obliged to contend, when he returned from his glorious campaigns. But as Pericles, from his obliging manner and the force of his eloquence, had made himself master of the affections of the people, he easily got the better of Cimon, and occasioned his being banished by ostracism. However, within five years he was recalled upon the ill state of the affairs of Athens in regard to the Lacedæmonians; and Pericles sacrificing his jealousy to the good of the public, was not ashamed to write and carry the decree himself, by which his adversary was recalled. As soon as he returned, he restored peace, and reconciled the two powers. And to remove from the Athenians, who were puffed up with the good success of so many victories, all farther inclination or opportunity to fall upon their neighbours and allies, he judged it necessary to lead them against the common enemy, that by this honourable method he might at the same time exercise and enrich his fellow-citizens. He therefore fitted out a fleet of two hundred sail. Sixty of these he sent against Egypt, and carried the rest against the isle of Cyprus. He beat the enemies fleet, and whilst he was laying a scheme for the entire destruction of the Persian empire, he received a wound at the siege of a city in Cyprus, of which he died. He prudently advised the Athenians to retreat in good order and

[u] This was not the historian. [x] Plut. in Vit. Cimon.

conceal

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conceal his death. This direction was observed, and they safely returned home under the conduct and protection of Cimon, though dead above thirty days before. From that time the Greeks never did any thing considerable against the Barbarians; they fell into divisions amongst themselves, gave the common enemy time to retrieve their affairs, and ruined themselves with their own forces.

Cimon was generally lamented, and the consequence shewed how great a loss Greece sustained in his person. He was rich and opulent; but [y] says Plutarch, quoting the express words of Gorgias, he was possessed of a great estate only to use it, and used it only to make himself beloved and honoured. [z] History relates such things of his liberality, as seem incredible to us, they are so different from the practice of our own times. His gardens and orchards were always open to the citizens, to take what fruit they liked best. He had every day a table frugally served, but with provision for abundance of people, and all the poor in the city had admittance to it. He had constantly several servants behind him, with orders to slip privately some pieces of money into the hands of the poor they should meet, and to give clothes to such as wanted them. He frequently took care to bury such as had not left enough to defray the expences of a funeral. And all this was not done to gain the affections and votes of the populace; for we have already observed that he declared in favour of the opposite faction, the rich and the noble. It is by no means surprising that a man of his character should be so much honoured during his life, and lamented after his death.

From that time, and especially after Thucydides the father-in-law of Cimon was banished by ostracism, there being no body left to balance the authority of Pericles, he had an absolute power at Athens, dis-

[y] Φησὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κλᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῶτο, χρῆθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῶτο.

[z] Corn. Nep. & Plut. in Vit. Cimon.

posing

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posing of the finances, troops, and fleet, and managing all public affairs at his sole discretion. He then began to change his conduct, not complying as before with the caprice and fancies of the people, but substituting instead of his former complaisance and indulgence, a more firm and independant manner of government, without, however, departing in any thing from right reason, and the love of the public good. He often engaged the people by remonstrances and arguments to submit voluntarily to what he proposed; but sometimes also by a salutary constraint he obliged them to consent to their own advantage; herein imitating the conduct of a wise physician, who in the course of a long illness complies sometimes with the patient's humour, but frequently orders such medicines, as make him sick and torment him, whilst they cure him. Finding himself therefore at the head of a haughty people, as he had a wonderful dexterity in managing their dispositions, he would, according to different conjunctures, sometimes employ terror to correct the pride occasioned by their good successes, and sometimes hope to re-animate their courage when depressed by adversity; shewing that rhetoric, as Plato observes, is only the art of inclining and captivating the hearts and understandings of others, and that the surest way to succeed in it, is to know how to make a proper use of the passions, which seldom or never fail of success.

What gave Pericles such great credit among the people, was not only the irresistible force of his eloquence, but the high opinion they had of his merit, his prudence, his ability in the affairs of the public, and above all, his disinterestedness; [a] for he was judged incapable of being corrupted by presents, or governed by avarice. In short, though he was long sole master of the republic, had raised the grandeur of Athens to the highest point to which it was capable, and heaped up immense treasures in the city, he did not increase the estate his father left him one single drachma. He always managed his patrimony indeed

[a] Ἀνδρὸς ἀτεχνῶς σοφοῦ φαίνεται γενόμενος, καὶ χρημάτων κρείττονος. with

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with œconomy, took an exact account of the laying out of his revenue, and retrenched all extravagant and superfluous expences, to the great displeasure of his wife and children, who affected show and magnificence: but to all this vain and frivolous glory he preferred the [b] solid satisfaction of assisting a great number of distressed citizens.

He was no less excellent as a general than as a statesman. The troops had an entire confidence in him, and followed him with equal assurance. His great maxim in war was not to hazard a battle, till he was almost secure of success, and to spare the blood of the citizens. He used to say, that was it in his power, they should be immortal; that trees cut down and destroyed might grow up again in time, but men that were dead were gone for ever. A victory obtained by a successful temerity, in his opinion, did not deserve any commendation, though often much admired. He was so firmly attached to this maxim, that nothing could ever divert him from it, as was evidently seen at the time the Lacedæmonians made an irruption into Attica. Like a pilot, says Plutarch, who after he has given necessary orders in a storm to all around him, despises the prayers and tears of his companions; so Pericles, having taken wise measures for the security of his country, and resolving not to march out of the city against the enemy, [c] continued firm and unshaken in his resolution, though solicited by the most pressing entreaties of several of his friends, menaced and accused by his enemies, made the subject of ballads and lampoons, and censured as a man of no courage, and a traitor to his country. This constancy and greatness of soul is a very necessary qualification in the administration of public affairs.

Thus all the military expeditions of Pericles, which were many in number, constantly succeeded to his wishes, and justly acquired him the reputation of a general consummate in the art of war.

[b] Βοηθῶν πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων. βραχέα φροντίζων τῶν καταδοώντων καὶ δυσχεραινόντων.
[c] Ἔχεσθε τοῦ αὐτῷ λογισμοῦ,

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He did not suffer himself to be flushed by fortune, nor followed the blind ardour of the people, who, elate from so many instances of good success, and haughty from a power which was daily increasing, meditated new conquests, projected vast schemes, and dreamed of nothing but attacking Egypt again, and subduing the maritime provinces of the Persian empire. Many even then began to cast their eyes upon Sicily, and indulge the unhappy and fatal thoughts of sending a fleet against it; thoughts which Alcibiades soon after revived, to the entire ruin of Athens. Pericles employed his whole credit and abilities to suppress these unruly sallies and restless dispositions. He rather chose to preserve and secure the old conquests, judging it sufficient to confine the Lacedæmonians within due bounds, who looked upon the power and grandeur of Athens with a jealous eye.

This grandeur was not only splendid abroad by victories acquired over the enemy, but still more so at home from the magnificence of the buildings and works wherewith Pericles had adorned and embellished the city, which threw strangers into admiration and rapture, and gave them a great idea of the Athenian power.

It is surprising to see in how little time so many different works of architecture, sculpture, engraving, and painting, were finished and yet carried to the highest pitch of perfection. For works, finished with so much ease and haste, have not generally a solid and lasting grace, nor the regular exactness of perfect beauty. Nothing but length of time and assiduity of labour can give them force to preserve and make them triumph over ages. And it is this makes the works of Pericles the more admirable, which were finished with so much rapidity, and notwithstanding lasted so long. For every one of them, as soon as erected, had the beautiful air of antiquity; and even now, says Plutarch, above five hundred years after, they have a certain air of youth and freshness, as if but just come from the hands of the workman; they still retain a grace and newness, that

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that time cannot extinguish, as though they were animated with immortal youth, and a soul exempt from age was diffused quite through them.

Phidias, the famous sculptor, was overseer of the works. It was he in particular, who made the famous golden statue of Minerva, so much esteemed by the connoisseurs of antiquity. There was an incredible ardour and emulation among the workmen. Every one strove who should most excel, and immortalize their names by the excellency of their work.

What occasioned the admiration of the whole world, raised a jealousy against Pericles. His enemies were incessantly crying out in the public assemblies, that it was a dishonour to the people to apply to their own use the wealth of Greece, which he had caused to be brought from Delos, where it was deposited, that the allies could not look upon such an attempt but as manifest tyranny, whilst they saw the money they had been compelled to raise for the war, employed by the Athenians, in gilding and adorning their city, in making fine statues, and erecting temples at the expence of millions

Pericles, on the other hand, remonstrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give an account to their allies of the money they had received; that it was enough that they defended them, and kept the Barbarians at a distance, whilst on their side they furnished neither soldiers, nor horses, nor ships, and were excused for certain sums of money, which as soon as paid in, were no longer theirs who paid them, but the property of those that received them, provided they performed the conditions for which they were given. He added, that the city being sufficiently provided with all stores necessary for war, it was proper to employ the rest of their wealth in such works, as when finished would procure immortal glory; and whilst they were in hand, would diffuse universal plenty, and subsist a great number of citizens. One day, as the complaints ran high against him, he offered to take the whole charges upon himself, provided

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vided the public inscriptions might declare that all was done at his expence. At these words the people, either through admiration of his magnanimity, or unwilling through emulation to grant him that glory, cried out, that he might make use of the treasury, to supply all the necessary expences, as freely as he pleased.

The enemies of Pericles, not venturing any more to fall directly upon him, accused before the people the persons that were most firmly attached to him, Phidias, Aspasia, and Anaxagoras. Pericles, who was thoroughly acquainted with the lightness and inconstancy of the Athenians, fearing he should at last be obliged to sink under the machinations and intrigues of his invidious adversaries, to divert the storm, kindled the Peloponnesian war which had been so long preparing; assured that he should thereby put a stop to the complaints that were raised against him, and appease envy; because in so pressing a danger, the city would not fail to put the public affairs into his hands, and submit to his conduct, upon the account of his great power and reputation.

REFLECTIONS.

I shall make three; the first upon the character of the persons spoken of in this piece of history; the second upon ostracism; and the third upon the emulation which reigned in Greece, and especially at Athens, with reference to the politer arts.

I. CHARACTERS OF THEMISTOCLES, ARISTIDES, CIMON, AND PERICLES.

We ought not, in my opinion, to pass over this piece of history, without asking the pupils which of these four great men they like best, and which of their good or ill qualities affect them most; and without pointing out to them the particular lineaments that distinguish their several characters.

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There is something in Themistocles which strikes exceedingly; and the single battle of Salamis, of which he had all the honour, gives him a right to dispute glory with the greatest. He there shewed invincible courage, a perfect knowledge in the art of war, an extraordinary greatness of soul, joined to a wisdom and moderation, which very much exalt their merit; especially in the instances of his prevailing with the Athenians to resign the general command of the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, and his bearing the injurious treatment of Eurybiades, with a patience and temper beyond his years.

But what is most admirable in the character of Themistocles is, that penetration and presence of mind, which let nothing escape him. After a short and hasty deliberation, he could immediately point out the best measures that were to be taken; and was extremely dextrous in discerning what was most suitable to the present occasion; and could foretel by almost infallible conjectures the events of things. The design he laid and executed of making the Athenians strong at sea, shewed he had a superior genius, capable of the greatest views, of looking into futurity, and laying hold of the decisive point in affairs. As they possessed but a barren territory of small extent, he saw they had no other means of increasing their riches and power, of making themselves necessary to their allies, and formidable to their enemies. Now this project may be justly considered as the source and cause of all the great events, which afterwards rendered the republic of Athens so flourishing.

But it must be owned, the black and perfidious design [*d*] Themistocles proposed, of burning the Grecian fleet in a time of peace, to increase the Athenian power, must take off infinitely from the good opinion we should otherwise have of him; for, as we have often observed, it is the heart, *i. e.* probity and integrity, which constitute and determine real merit. And so the people of Athens judged. I question whether

[*d*] Cornel. Nepos. & Plut.

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in all history we have a fact more deserving our admiration than this. We have not here a body of philosophers, who can easily lay down excellent maxims in their schools, and teach sublime rules of morality, to shew that the useful ought not to take place. But here an entire people, interested in the proposal made to them, and admitting it very advantageous to the state, without a moment's hesitation, reject it unanimously for this only reason, because it is unjust.

The great talents of Themistocles were also very much sullied, by an excessive desire of glory, and an unbounded ambition, that he could never keep within just bounds, which led him to oppose the merit of all such as could dispute glory with him, and occasioned the banishment of Aristides, and made him end his days in a dishonourable manner in a foreign land, and amongst the enemies of his country.

Pericles, when he undertook the management of public affairs, found the city in the most flourishing condition of power and greatness to which it had ever attained; whereas his predecessors had rendered it so. And if it be any diminution of his glory to say, that his business was only to support it in the condition, to which others had raised it; we may observe on the other hand, that this was rather a circumstance to his advantage, as it must have been very difficult to rule, and keep within the bounds of their duty, a body of haughty citizens, that were become almost untractable through prosperity.

He supported himself at the head of affairs, and with an almost absolute power, not for a few days, or a small compass of time, but during forty years, though he had a great many illustrious adversaries to contend with; which is almost unexampled. And this circumstance alone is enough to convince us of the extent, superiority, and force of his genius, the solidity of his virtue, and the variety of his accomplishments, especially, if we consider, he had to do with a democracy, very jealous, very seditious, and abounding in persons of merit. Plutarch seems to point out

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the cause, and gives us his character in a few words, when he says, that Pericles, like Fabius, made himself very useful to his country, by his mildness, his justice, and the resolution and patience with which he bore the imprudent and unjust behaviour of his colleagues and fellow-citizens. His enemies, who during his life took offence at the excessive credit he had acquired, were obliged to own after his death, [e] that never man knew better how to temper authority with moderation, nor to exalt mildness and humanity with a majestic gravity than he; and his power, which had raised their envy against him, and was called by the odious name of tyranny, seemed then to have been the surest defence and strongest bulwark of the state; so much wickedness and corruption crept afterwards into the government, which durst not shew themselves during his administration, but were ever kept under restraint, and never suffered to grow up to an excess without remedy, through licentiousness and impunity.

Pericles, by the force of his eloquence, and the ascendant he had gained over the minds of the people, several times disconcerted the projects of a war, by which means he did a signal service to his country, and would have saved it abundance of misfortunes, if he had continued the same conduct to the end. He had honest views in ruling, but would rule alone; and this led him into banishing the best subjects of the republic, and such as were most capable of serving it, because they were a counterbalance to his authority. And lastly, being apprehensive of the like treatment himself, and finding his credit daily decline, for his own security he kindled a war, which was attended with very fatal consequences to his country.

The magnificent works, wherewith he adorned Athens, are highly extolled; but I fear not altogether justly. For was it reasonable to employ [f] such im-

[e] Ἀνωμόλογει τὸ μετριώτερον ἐν ὄγκῳ καὶ σεμνότερον ἐν πραότητι, μὴ φύναι τρόπον.

[f] They amounted to above ten millions.

mense

mense sums, as were designed only for the support of the war, in superfluous buildings and vain decorations? And would it not have been better to have eased the allies of a part of their contributions, which under the government of Pericles were raised near one-third above what they were before?

Cimon also took care to adorn the city. But besides that the money he laid out was part of the booty he had taken from the enemy, and was not the heart's-blood and substance of the people; the expence was very moderate, and confined either to such works as were absolutely necessary, as the port, the walls, and fortifications of the city; or of very great use to the citizens; such as the porticos and public walks; the places of exercise, as the academy, the usual residence of the poets, and celebrated retreat of the philosophers. This place he took a peculiar care to make more commodious and agreeable; and by this slight expence gave occasion to those learned discourses, which were so deserving of a free people, and derived so much honour to the city of Athens from all after-ages.

He had heaped up immense riches, but made such an use of them as might make the Christians ashamed; giving largely to all the poor he met with, distributing clothes to such as wanted them, and inviting the necessitous citizens of Athens to eat at his table. What comparison is there, says Plutarch, between the table of Cimon, which was plain, frugal, popular, and at a small expence fed every day a great number of citizens; and that of Lucullus, which was magnificently served, and more worthy of a Persian grandee than a citizen of Rome, being designed to gratify at a vast expence the sensuality of some professed debauchees, whose only merit was a nice palate, and doubtless the art of highly commending the master of the house.

By his military expeditions Cimon was equal in glory to the most eminent commanders among the Greeks; for no body before him ever carried their arms and conquests so far, and to the bravery and

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courage he had in common with the rest, he added a prudence and moderation, which were of no less service to his country.

His youth indeed was not unblamable; but the rest of his life covered, and abundantly made amends for his former faults; and where can we find a virtue without blemish?

If such a thing were possible among the heathens, it would be the virtue of Aristides. An extraordinary greatness of soul made him superior to every passion. Interest, pleasure, ambition, resentment, jealousy, were extinguished in him by the love of virtue and his country. He was a man born for the republic. Provided that was well served, he was unconcerned by whom it was done. The merit of others, instead of offending him, became his own by the approbation he gave it. He had a share in all the great victories obtained by the Greeks in his time, without being at all the more haughty on that account. His inclination was not to rule in Athens, but to make Athens rule. And this he effected, not as we have already observed, by fitting out great fleets, and sending vast armies into the field, but by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable to the allies by his mildness, goodness, humanity, and justice. The disinterestedness he shewed in the management of the public treasure, and the love of poverty, which he carried, if I may venture to say, almost to an excess, are virtues so far superior to the practice of our age, that they scarce seem credible to us. In a word, and we may hence judge of the real merit of Aristides, if Athens had always been governed by commanders like him, and had been content to enjoy the honour of being mistress of Greece, and with preserving the peace and happiness of her neighbours, she would have been at the same time the terror of her enemies, the delight of her allies, and the admiration of the whole world.

Themistocles made no scruple to use tricking and subtlety in compassing his designs, and was not always firm and constant in his undertakings. But for Aristides,

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tides, his conduct and principles were always uniform, stedfast in the pursuit of whatever he thought just, and incapable of the least falshood or shadow of flattery, disguise or fraud, no not in jest.

He had one maxim of the greatest importance to all such as would enter into public employments, who are too apt to rely upon their friends, and their intrigues. And this was, that every true citizen and man of probity should place his whole credit in doing and advising upon all occasions whatever was just and honest. He spoke thus, from observing that the great credit of their friends induced most persons in office to abuse their power, by committing unjust actions.

Nothing could be more admirable than the behaviour of Aristides before the battle of Marathon, or more different from our way of thinking and acting at present. The command of the army being divided between ten Athenian generals, who had each their particular day to preside over the rest, Aristides was the first to give up this command to Miltiades, as the person of the greatest ability among them, and engaged his colleagues to do the same, by representing to them, that it was not shameful, but great and salutary, to submit to superior merit. And by thus uniting the whole authority in a single chief, he enabled Miltiades to gain a great victory over the Persians.

There is one quality very extraordinary, which belongs to all the four great men I have been speaking of, and deserves to be carefully taken notice of by a master, and to be pointed out to his scholars; and that is their facility in sacrificing their own private resentments to the good of the public. Their hatred had nothing implacable in it, no rancour, no fury, as among the Romans. The safety of the state reconciles them without leaving any jealousy or gall behind it; and far from secretly crossing the designs of a former rival, every one concurs with zeal to the success of his enterprises, and to the advancement of his glory.

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This quality, this characteristic, is one of the noblest, most difficult, and most superior to human nature, that we meet with in history; and I may venture to say, the most necessary and important for persons in high stations, in whom it is but too common to observe a narrowness of soul, which they are pleased to call great and noble, and puts them upon being captious, nice and jealous in point of commmand, incompatible with their colleagues, solely attentive to their own glory, always ready to sacrifice the public to their private interest, and suffering their rivals to commit faults, that they may turn them to their own advantage.

But, we shall see a quite different conduct in the persons whose characters we are now examining.

Themistocles, not long before the battle of Salamis, finding the Athenians regretted Aristides, and were desirous of his return, though he was the principal author of his banishment, made no scruple to recal him, by a decree in favour of all exiles, which allowed them to return and assist their country with their counsel, and defend it with their valour.

[g] Aristides, thus recalled, went some time after to find Themistocles in his tent, and gave him an important piece of advice, upon which the success of the war, and the safety of Greece depended. His discourse deserved to have been engraved in letters of gold. "Themistocles, says he, if we are wise, we shall "henceforward lay aside that vain and childish dissen- "tion, which has hitherto set us at variance; and by "a more noble and useful emulation, strive who shall "take the most pains in serving our country; you, "by commanding and doing the duty of a discreet "and good officer; and I, by obeying and assisting "you with my person and advice." He then communicated to him what he judged necessary in the present conjuncture. Themistocles astonished at his greatness of soul, and so noble a frankness of sentiments, was ashamed to be outdone by his rival; and freely owning it, promised from thenceforth to imi-

[g] Herod. lib. 8. Plut. in Vit. Themist. & Aristid.

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tate his generous example, and if possible exceed it in his future conduct. Nor did all these professions end in mere compliment, but were made good by constant effects: and Plutarch observes, that during the whole time Themistocles commanded, [h] Aristides assisted him upon every occasion with his advice and credit, joyfully taking pains to promote the glory of his greatest enemy through the motive of advancing the public good. And when afterwards the disgrace of Themistocles gave him a proper opportunity for revenge, [i] instead of resenting the ill treatment he had received from him, he constantly refused to join with his enemies, as far from secretly rejoicing over the misfortune of his adversary, as he had been before from being afflicted at his good success.

Is there in history any thing more entirely grand and exalted than what we have now related? Or do we find any thing elsewhere which may justly be compared with this noble and generous behaviour of Aristides? [k] It is deservedly admired as one of the most beautiful circumstances in the life of Agricola, that he employed all his abilities and care to augment the glory of his generals; but here it was to advance that of the greatest enemy. How far superior in merit?

We have also in Cimon a great instance of the virtue I am describing, who being actually banished by ostracism, came notwithstanding to take his place in his tribe to fight against the Lacedæmonians, who till then had been constantly his friends, and with whom he stood charged of holding private intelligence. And when his enemies had obtained an order from the public council, to forbid his going to the battle, he withdrew, and conjured his friends to prove his innocence and their own by their actions. They took the

[h] Πάνλα συνέπραξε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξότατον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ κοινῇ ποιῶν τὸν ἔχθιστον. Plut. in Vit. Aristid.

[i] Οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν. . . . ἀδὲ μετέλαυσεν ἔχθρᾳ δυσχεὴς, ὥσπερ ἐδ' εὐεμερεῖδι περότερον ἐφθόνησε. Ib.

[k] Nec Agricola unquam in suam famam gestis exultavit: ad auctorem & ducem, ut minister fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundiâ in prædicando, extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat. Tacit. in Vit. Agric. cap. 8.

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armour of Cimon, placed it in his post, and fought with so much valour, that the most part of them lost their lives, leaving the Athenians under the utmost regret for their loss, and severely repenting the unjust accusations they had thrown upon them.

The Athenians, upon the loss of a considerable battle recalled Cimon; and Pericles himself, as we have before observed, was the person who drew up and proposed the decree, by which he was recalled, though he had before contributed more than any other to his banishment. Upon which Plutarch makes a beautiful reflection, that wholly confirms all that I have advanced upon this subject. Pericles, says he, used his whole interest to bring back his rival, "so "much were the quarrels of the citizens moderated "by the views of the public advantage, and their "animosities always ready to be laid aside as soon as "the good of the state required it; and so much did "their ambition, which is the most lively and most "violent of passions, conform and give way to the "necessities and interests of their country." Cimon upon his return, without complaining of his former ill usage, or taking much upon him, and without seeking to prolong a war which made him necessary to his country, readily executed the service expected from him, and immediately procured the peace it wanted.

But nothing more clearly discovers the inward sentiments of Pericles, his good nature and aversion to all hatred and revenge, than an expression which fell from him a little before his death. His friends were sitting round him as he lay sick, and not thinking that he heard them, were talking amongst themselves in commendation of his government, and the nine trophies he had gained, when he interrupted them, and wondered, he said, they should dwell so much upon matters in which fortune had so great a share, and were common to him with many other generals, and forget the greatest and most beautiful circumstance of his life,

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life, that no Athenian had ever wore mourning on his account.

The several particulars I have here mentioned concerning the four great men, who were the ornaments of the Athenian republic, may in my opinion be very useful, not only to such young persons, as are destined to fill considerable places in the state, but to people of all conditions whatsoever. For they let us see, how low and mean-spirited it is to be envious and jealous of the virtue and reputation of others; and on the other hand, how noble and generous to value, love, and commend the merit of our equals, colleagues, competitors, and even enemies, if we have any. And these passages of history should make the greater impression upon us, as they are not the speculative lessons of philosophers, but duties reduced to practice.

II. OF OSTRACISM.

Ostracism was a sentence among the Athenians, by which they condemned any one to a kind of banishment that was to last ten years, unless that term was lessened by the people. The consent of six thousand citizens at least was required for a condemnation of this kind. They gave their vote by writing the name of the person upon a shell, in Greek called ὄστρακον, from whence came the name of ostracism. This kind of banishment was not inflicted as a punishment for any crime, nor considered as infamous; [*l*] the most illustrious citizens, and often men of the greatest probity, were exposed to it. I do not here take upon me to plead or apologize in behalf of ostracism, which, as it may be considered under different views, may likewise occasion very different judgments. As this law seemed only designed against virtue, and to be severe upon merit, it is no wonder, that in this view it should appear extremely odious and offensive to every rational man. This induced Valerius Maximus to charge this custom as the folly and extrava-

[*l*] Miltiades, Cimon, Aristides, Themistocles, &c.

gance

gance of the public in punishing the greatest virtues as criminal, and repaying the services done to the state with banishment. [m] *Quid obest quin publica dementia sit existimanda, summo consensu maximas virtutes quasi gravissima delicta punire, beneficiaque injuriis rependere ?*

Without attempting therefore absolutely to justify ostracism, I shall enquire a little into the reasons of it, and examine the advantages that may arise from it. For I cannot imagine, that so wise a republic, as that of Athens, would have so long suffered and authorised a custom founded only upon injustice and violence. And what confirms me in this opinion is, that when this law was abrogated at Athens, it was not done because it was unjust; but because having taken place in the case of a citizen despised by all the world (he was named Hyperbolus, and lived in the time of Nicias and Alcibiades) [n] it was thought that ostracism, degraded by this example, would ever after be a dishonour to a man of probity, and injurious to his reputation.

[o] Thus we see, that Tully does not condemn this law with the same severity as Valerius Maximus; and that pleading against the banishment of Sextius, though it was his interest to decry all banishments, he contents himself with accusing the Athenians of lightness and temerity. Plutarch speaks of it in several places in a very favourable manner, at least without censure or reproach, as we shall see by and by. And this inclines me to believe that Valerius Maximus judged very superficially of this law, and was too easily prejudiced by some inconveniences attending it, without considering thoroughly the advantages that might arise from it. We shall therefore now examine what those advantages might be.

[m] Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 3.

[n] Ἐκ τούτου δυσχεράνας ὁ δῆμος ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ προπηλακισμένον, ἀφῆκε ῥᾳστώνως, καὶ κατέλυσεν. Plut. in Arist.

[o] Apud Athenienses, homines Græcos, longè à nostrorum hominum gravitate disjunctos, non deerant qui rempublicam contra populi temeritatem defenderent, cùm omnes, qui ita fecerant, è civitate expellerentur. Pro Sext. n. 141.

1. In

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1. It was a very useful barrier against tyranny in a state purely democratical, where liberty, which is the soul and sovereign law of it, cannot subsist, but by equality. It was difficult for the people not to be suspicious of the power of such citizens as had raised themselves above the rest, [p] and whose ambition, so natural to mankind, gave a just alarm to a republic extremely jealous of its independency. It was proper to take measures at a distance for bringing them back into the sphere, from whence their great abilities or great services seemed to have removed them. [q] They had still in remembrance the tyranny of Pisistratus and his children, who had been only private citizens like the rest. They had Ephesus, Thebes, Corinth, Syracuse, and almost all the cities of Greece before their eyes, which were all brought under subjection to tyrants at a time, when the citizens were under no apprehensions of losing their liberty. And who could be sure, that Themistocles, Ephialtes, the elder Demosthenes, Alcibiades, and even Cimon and Pericles, would have refused to reign at Athens, if they had been capable of attempting it, as Pausanias and Lysander did at Lacedæmon, and so many others in their republic, and as Cæsar did at Rome?

2. This sort of banishment had nothing shameful or ignominious in it. It was not, says Plutarch, a punishment for crimes and misdemeanours, but a precaution judged necessary against a pride and power, which became formidable; it was a mild and gentle remedy against that envy, which is apt to form jealousies and suspicions of too great merit; and in a word, a certain means of setting the minds of the people at ease, without carrying them to any violence against the party banished. For he preserved the enjoyment and disposal of his estate; possessed all the rights and privileges of a citizen, with the hope of

[p] Τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς, καὶ πρὸς ἰσότητα δημοκρατικὴν ἀσύμμετροι. Plut. in Vit. Themist.

[q] Athenienses, propter Pisistrati tyrannidem, quæ paucis annis antè fuerat, omnium civium suorum potentiam exhorrescebant. Corn. Nep. in Milt. cap. 8.

being

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being restored within a fixed time, which might be abridged by abundance of incidents. So that the engagements which tied the banished man to his country were not broken by the ostracism; he was not driven to despair, nor forced upon extremities. Thus we see by the event, that neither Aristides, Cimon, or even Themistocles, or any of the rest, entered into engagements against their country, but on the contrary always continued faithful and zealous for it. Whereas the Romans, for the want of such a law, extorted imprecations from Camillus against his country, engaged Coriolanus to take up arms against it, as Sertorious did afterwards against his inclination. They came at last to declare a citizen an enemy to the state, as in the case of Cæsar, Mark Anthony, and several others; after which there was no remedy but in despair, nor any assurance of their own preservation but in violence and open war.

3. By this law the Athenians were also preserved from the civil wars, which so much disturbed and shook the commonwealth of Rome. With such a law as this the Gracchi would not have been assassinated. The Romans might perhaps have spared themselves the wars of Marius and Sylla, of Cæsar and Pompey, and the fatal consequences of the triumvirate. But as Rome wanted this mild and humane remedy, [r] as Plutarch phrases it, so proper to calm, soften, and assuage envy; whenever the two factions of the senate and people were a little inflamed, there was nothing left, but to decide the quarrel by arms and violence. And this at last drew upon Rome the loss of her liberty.

Perhaps therefore we may have good reason to differ in our judgment concerning this law from Valerius Maximus and some others, who were offended only at the abuse of it, without fully examining into the real motives of its establishment and its advantages, and without considering that there is no law so good, but it may have its inconveniences in the application.

[r] Παραμυθία φιλάνθρωπος φθόνου καὶ κουφισμός.

III. EMU-

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III. EMULATION IN ARTS AND SCIENCES.

Diodorus Siculus, in the preface to the twelfth book of his history, makes a very judicious reflection upon the times and events I have now been speaking of. He observes that Greece was never threatened with greater danger, than when Xerxes, after having subdued all the Asiatic Greeks, brought against it such a formidable army, as seemed to make the same fate an inevitable event. And yet it was never more glorious or triumphant than after the expedition of Xerxes, which, properly speaking, was the epocha from whence to date the prosperity of Greece, and was in particular the occasion and origin of that glory which made the name of Athens so famous. For the following fifty years produced in that city a multitude of men eminent in every kind of merit, in arts, sciences, war, government and politics.

To confine myself here only to arts and sciences, what carried them in so short a time to so high a degree of perfection, was the rewards and distinctions bestowed on such as excelled in them, which kindled an incredible emulation amongst the men of letters and excellent artists.

Cimon, returning from a glorious campaign, brought back with him to Athens the bones of Theseus. To preserve the memory of this event, the people proposed a prize to be contended for by the tragic poets, which became very famous. Judges chosen by lot were to determine the merit of the performances, and adjudge the crown to the conqueror amidst the commendations and applauses of the whole assembly. But the archon observing there was great caballing and partiality among the spectators, nominated Cimon himself and nine other generals to be judges. Sophocles, who was then but young, presented his first piece, and gained the prize from Æschylus, who till then had been the honour of the theatre, and incontestibly the best writer. He was unable to survive his glory, left Athens, and retired into Sicily, where he soon after died

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died of grief. As to Sophocles, his reputation continually increased, and never left him, not even in his extreme old age. His children soliciting for a judgment against him, as being superannuated, instead of a defence, he read before the judges a piece he had lately finished, entitled *Oedipus Coloneus*, and unanimously gained his cause.

The glory of carrying the prize in these disputes, where all sorts of persons took pains to produce something extraordinary, was held so distinguished an honour, as to become the object of the ambition of princes, as we learn from the history of the two Dionysius of Syracuse.

[*s*] It was a glorious day and the most affecting delight to Herodotus, when all Greece assembled at the Olympic games declared, whilst they heard him read his history, that they thought they heard the Muses speaking by his mouth; which occasioned the nine books of his work being called by the name of the nine Muses. And the case was the same with the orators and poets, who spoke their orations, and read their poems there in public. How great a spur to glory must the applauses have been, which were received before the eyes and with the acclamations of almost all the people of Greece?

There was no less emulation amongst the artisans of merit; and this was the reason, that under Pericles all arts were carried in so short a time to the highest degree of perfection.

[*t*] It was he that built the Odèon, or theatre of music, and made the decree, by which it was ordained, that the games and disputes for prizes of music should be celebrated on the feast of the Panathenæa; and being chosen the judge and distributer of the prizes, he thought it no dishonour to regulate and assign the laws and conditions of this kind of disputes.

[*u*] Who has not heard of the name of Phidias, and the fame of his works? This celebrated sculptor, who

[*s*] Lucian. in Herodot. [*t*] Plut. in Vit. Pericl. [*u*] Ibid.

was

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was more sensible to glory than interest, ventured, notwithstanding the extreme delicacy of the Athenians in this particular, to insert his name, or at least the resemblance of his countenance, on a famous statue; as judging he could have no better recompence for all his labour than to share an immortality with it, whereof he had been the author and cause.

We know with what ardour the painters entered the list against one another, and how eagerly they disputed for the prize. Their works were exposed in public, and judges that were alike excellent and uncorruptible adjuged the victory to the most deserving.

Parrhasius and Zeuxis contended in this manner with each other. The latter had drawn grapes so exactly alike, that the birds came and pecked at them. The other had drawn a curtain. Zeuxis, proud of the mighty suffrage of the birds, with an insulting air bid him draw aside his curtain, and shew what he had done. [x] He soon found his mistake, and yielded the palm to his rival, ingenuously confessing himself conquered, for he had only deceived the birds, whereas Parrhasius had deceived him, as great a master as he was in the art.

What I have observed of the passion, excited by a single man in Athens for arts and sciences, may shew us of what service emulation may be to a state, when applied to things useful to the public, and restrained and kept within just bounds. How great an honour has Greece derived from the great artists and learned men she produced in such abundance, whose works, superior to the injury of time and malignity of envy, are still looked upon, and ever will be, as the rule of a good taste and model of perfection? Honours and rewards annexed to merit, rouze and awaken industry, animate the soul, and raise mankind as it were from stupefaction and lethargy, and in a short time fill a kingdom with illustrious persons of every

[x] Intellecto errore, concessit palmam ingenuo pudore, quoniam ipse volucres fefellisset, Parrhasius autem se artificem. Plin. l. 35. c. 10.

kind.

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kind. The late M. Colbert, minister of state, set apart forty thousand crowns a year, to be distributed among such as excelled in any art or science; and he often told [y] some that were admitted to an intimacy with him, upon whose intelligence and recommendation he relied in this particular, that if there was a man of merit in the kingdom that suffered, or was in want, it was to be charged upon their consciences, who would be answerable for it. Such expences as these never ruin a state; and a minister, who has a sincere love for his prince and country, can scarce serve them better, than by procuring them such inestimable advantages, and so lasting a glory, at so small an expence. For as [z] Horace has said upon another occasion, when men of probity are under any necessity, friends may be purchased at a cheap rate;

Vilis amicorum est annona, bonis ubi quid deest.

[y] Mr. Perrault, & M. l'Abbé Gallois. [z] Hor. l. 1. Ep. 12.

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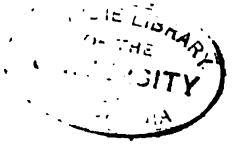

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